STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION TRADITIONS

Queen's Apprentice

Archduchess Elizabeth, Empress María, the Habsburgs, and the Holy Roman Empire, 1554-1569

Joseph F. Patrouch

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BRILL

Queen's Apprentice

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By
Joseph F. Patrouch

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For Felice and Quinn, another important mother-daughter pair

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Joseph F. Patrouch
FMI
Berlin
June, 2009

INTRODUCTION

A QUEEN IN TRAINING AND AN EMPRESS IN CHARGE

The following book attempts to place the Habsburg archduchess Elizabeth and her mother the Holy Roman Empress María into the center of an analysis of the court in which they lived and the political systems of which this court was a part in the years from the birth of the archduchess in 1554 through the year of her betrothal to the king of France, Charles IX, in 1569. The Habsburg family to which the women belonged is famous for its world-wide connections. As Archduchess Elizabeth grew up, her relatives across the continent of Europe connected her mother and her to a multitude of states and people. This network of relatives included emperors, queens, kings, archduchesses, archdukes, dukes, regents, knights, nuns, and cardinals. The women and men were grandparents, parents, siblings, spouses, daughters, sons, in-laws, aunts, uncles, and cousins. They governed from Lithuania to Portugal and from Scotland to Sicily, and some had increasingly effective claims to rule overseas as well. Elizabeth would discover, connect to and build these relations as she lived a life that took her from the Vienna of the Ottoman Wars to the Paris of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the Prague of the emperor-patron Rudolf II and then back to Counter-Reformation Vienna, where she remains today.

A study of Elizabeth and her mother helps to provide context not only for their lives, but for the lives of others close to them. These include María's husband, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, her father-in-law Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, and her sons, Holy Roman Emperors Rudolf II and Matthias. In addition, this close analysis of María's court provides a deeper understanding of the upbringing and background of María's daughter Anna, the future Queen of Spain, and María's sons Ernst, the future governor of the Low Countries, Albrecht, the viceroy of Portugal who later jointly ruled the Habsburg Low Countries, and Maximilian, the future Grandmaster of the Teutonic Knights.

The reason for studying Archduchess Elizabeth and her mother María is not only a biographical one. The following study will place these two women into the context of the burgeoning field of Court

Studies (with its subfield of Queenship Studies), as well as into the context of the analysis of the creation of the central European Habsburgs' jointly-ruled territories and these territories' shifting and complicated relations with the larger Holy Roman Empire of which many of the territories were part. In some ways, the present book continues the study of what R.J.W. Evans called thirty years ago, the "making of the Habsburg Monarchy."[1] It will be shown how the women's court of the central European Habsburgs and its members' ties to men and women's courts elsewhere played important roles in the meshing of the various cultures, political units, and expectations which the Habsburgs brought together.

In order to accomplish the goal of a thorough analysis of the first fifteen years of Archduchess Elizabeth's life in her mother María's court, a large variety of sources have been consulted. These include many which have not been studied in this way before. In addition to more traditional sources such as court regulations, correspondence, diaries, wills, inventories, government business, legislative, and diplomatic reports, numismatic evidence is adduced. In order to understand the various ceremonial entrances, tournaments, festivals, and the like, published accounts of them (the so-called "*Thurnierbücher*,") have been looked at in detail, together with their illustrations (woodcuts or engravings) and other pictorial depictions of the events. The texts of plays and music performed around the court have been consulted, as have the literary sources for the performances and reports of sermons held at the court. The physical environment has been studied via analysis of still-existing buildings and streets as well as via an analysis of the crown jewels, sculptures, reliefs, stained glass windows, gravestones and other aspects of the material world which are extant or lists of items such as clothing and accessories. Paintings from the period have been turned to as evidence. Printed sources such as books and broadsheets are also to be found among the sources discussed below.

Because the perspective from which the analysis is presented, the gaze through which it is conceptualized, is that of an infant, toddler, young girl, and adolescent, large numbers of visual and some aural sources had to be integrated. The device which structures the narrative, providing the justification for the chronological framework as well as for the events and images presented, is the imagined life of

[1] R.J.W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy* (Oxford, 1979).

a person who left very few sources of her own. The consequence of this fact is this book's concentration on contexts and connections. The book is not about the archduchess; it is concerned with what went on about her.

In the historical literature, the archduchess Elizabeth of Habsburg (1554–1592) is primarily known for her brief reign as Queen of France from 1570–1574. She is perhaps best remembered, at least in the Anglophone world, for her famous *entrée* into Paris in March, 1571 following her consecration and coronation at St. Denis outside of the French capital. That *entrée* was famously studied by Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson.[2] In the nineteenth century, two French authors devoted popular biographies to the life of this young queen: Clary Darlem in 1847 and Louis de Beauriez in 1884.[3] Since then, outside of a 1965 dissertation, the archduchess-queen has been to a large extent relegated to brief mentions in biographical reference works or compilations of the lives of the French queens.[4] The latter in particular convey a rather stereotypical image of a quiet, studious and pious girl brought up under the influence of a strict mother.[5]

In the histories written of her famous family the archduchess Elizabeth is similarly skipped over, with perhaps brief discussions of her role as the foundress of a forgotten and closed convent in Vienna.[6] She died young, coughing and spitting up blood on a cold Winter's

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[2] Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, *The Paris Entries of Charles IX and Elisabeth of Austria 1571* (Toronto, 1974).

[3] Louis de Beauriez, *Élisabeth d'Autriche (femme de Charles IX) et son temps* (Paris, 1884). *Clary Darlem, Élisabeth d'Autriche, reine de France* (Paris, 1847).

[4] Marianne Strakosch, *Materialien zu einer Biographie Elisabeths von Österreich, Königin von Frankreich*. Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1965. References in biographical reference works include: Joseph F. Patrouch, "Elisabeth of Habsburg (1554–1592)," Anne Commire and Deborah Klezmer, eds., *Women in World History. A Biographical Encyclopedia* (Detroit, 2000), vol. 5, pp. 129–133; Roman D'Amat, "Élisabeth d'Autriche," *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris, 1965), vol. 12, p. 1203. Older such references include: J. Mathes, *Tugendsterne Deutschlands* (n.p., 1902), cols., 131–132; A. de Martonne, "Élisabeth ou Isabelle d'Autriche," *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris, 1856), vol. 15, cols. 861–863; "Elisabeth d'Autriche," *Biographie universelle (Michaud)* (Paris, 1855), vol. 12, pp. 385–386.

[5] Thierry Deslot, *Impératrices et Reines de France* (Paris, 1996), pp. 108–110; Gerd Treffer, *Die französischen Königinnen. Von Betrada bis Marie Antoinette. (8.–18. Jahrhundert)* (Regensburg, 1996); Simone Bertière, *Les Reines de France au temps du Valois* (Paris, 1994), vol. 2, pp. 207–221; Christian Bouyer, *Dictionnaire des Reines de France* (Paris, 1992), pp. 267–270; Paule Lejeune, *Les Reines de France* (Vernal, 1989), pp. 197–199.

[6] M. Héyret, "Elisabeth, Königin von Frankreich, die Stifterin des Königsklosters in Wien," *Katholische Warte* 4 (1888), pp. 379–384.

day in that city, and has remained mostly forgotten in the historical record.

With the revived interest in queens and female rule in the early modern and medieval periods, historians have turned again to the study of women such as Archduchess Elizabeth and Empress María, women who exercised substantial political power, served as cultural patrons, administered estates, and mothered generations of female and male rulers.[7] Fifty years after Ernst Kantorowicz's seminal study of the various bodies of the French and English kings, a study in which he did not spend much time of the topic of the queen, interest now turns to queens as important political and symbolic power players in the early modern constitution.[8] His general statement that "the Crown was rarely 'personified' but very often 'bodified' " deserves further development in light of the last decades of work on female power and bodies generally.[9]

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[7] For a general introduction, see Regina Schulte, ed., *The Body of the Queen: Gender and Rule in the Courtly World, 1500–2000* (NY, 2006) as well as the case studies collected in Clarissa Campbell Orr, ed., *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge, 2004). Anne McClaren reviews recent works on English and Scottish queens in "Queenship in Early Modern England and Scotland," *The Historical Journal* 49 (2006), pp. 935–952. On Spain, see Theresa Earenfight, ed., *Queenship and Religious Power in Early Modern Spain* (Burlington, VT, 2005).

[8] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ, 1957). Kantorowicz had spent much more time detailing the role of female rulers in his legendary biography of Emperor Frederick II. In that work, he gives a large role to the emperor's mother Konstanze I. He also points to Frederick II's peculiar relationship with his wives who apparently exercised more circumscribed ranges of influence and authority than the other empresses of the period. *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite* (Dusseldorf, 1963), p. 374. On the twentieth anniversary of Kantorowicz's *Two Bodies*, Marie Axton detailed aspects of the legal fiction in England in her *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabeth Succession* (London, 1977).

[9] Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, p. 382. For more on how "male authority and female powers jointly structure space, work, sexual life,…" see Céceile Dauphin, et al., "Women's Culture and Women's Power," pp. 568–596 in Joan Wallach Scott, ed., *Feminism in History* (Oxford, 1996). Here, p. 572. Kantorowicz recognized the ritual significance of female rulers. This comes out more clearly in his study of medieval liturgical acclamations published over a decade before the *King's Two Bodies*. There, he underlined a significant shift exorcizing mention of the empress or queen which occurred in the early thirteenth century: *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamation and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946. Reprint, 1958), p. 144. His study of Byzantine marriage belts originally delivered in 1951 tied Classical examples of imperial cults of empresses to a 1570 example: "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dunbarton Oaks Papers* 14 (1960), pp. 2–16. Here, p. 9. He concluded the provocative array of examples by writing, "[a]ll this opens up some wider perspectives looking both backward and forward" (p. 15).

Elizabeth and María were connected to a variety of ideas and cultural influences which helped condition how they would and could operate. The following work studies the formative years of the future queen, looking at the experiences she had and the ways by which she learned to be an archduchess, a queen, and a widow at the court of her mother, the Spanish-born queen and later empress. The attempt is made to sketch the activities of the young archduchess in the years leading up to her marriage at the age of sixteen in a way which highlights the influences and experiences which helped shape her later in life.[10] It is hoped that by so doing, more is learned about the way women's courts in general functioned and about how the court of the queen-empress María functioned in particular in the contexts of the Habsburgs' dynastic holdings and the Holy Roman Empire. As Karin Hausen has pointed out, such an analysis may also help to break down the limiting "public/private" dichotomy which has relegated the analysis of women to the margins of "universal" or even "national" history.[11]

The international cultural contexts, the languages and mental horizons which mixed and collided at her Spanish mother's court in central Europe, created a milieu with many aspects that will be looked at more closely below. Women and men from many different places in Europe interacted with and near Archduchess Elizabeth. They came from as far away as Iberia and as close as Vienna and Lower Austria and included people who spoke Flemish, Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, Czech, Slovak, French, Romanian, Dutch, Polish, Spanish, and even German. How did the women's court here provide a particular world for intermingling, and how did it function as part of the difficult

[10] For an introduction to issues relating to the study of the history of girls' education, see Elke Kleinau, "Mädchen- und Frauenbildung in der historischen Bildungsforschung. Neue Ansätze und Forschungsperspektive" *Historische Mitteilungen der Ranke-Gesellschaft* 19 (2006), pp. 208–218. See also Merry E. Wiesner, "Childhood and Adolescence," pp. 42–46 in her *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993) and Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, Graeme Dunphy, trans. (Oxford, 1992).

[11] Karin Hausen, "Die Nicht-Einheit der Geschichte als historiographische Herausforderung. Zur historischen Relevanz und Anstößigkeit der Geschlechtergeschichte," pp. 17–55 in Hans Medick and Anne-Charlott Tripps, eds., *Geschlechtergeschichte und Allgemeine Geschichte. Herausforderungen und Perspektiven* (Göttingen, 1998). Here, p. 53.

process of melding the Habsburgs' many worlds?[12] The long-existing socio-political form "court" is seen as a site of conflict and cooperation (and perhaps negotiation?) where a variety of forces interact, including nobles, clerics, and staff members in addition to the rulers.[13]

This book is more than a story of a girl's first fifteen years. It is a story of central Europe in the difficult, complex decades of the 1550's and 1560's, decades that marked the shift from the early phase of the Reformation to a decidedly different world of the Catholic Reform and Counter-Reformation, where religious warfare moved from the Holy Roman Empire's core regions to its western periphery, the Low Countries, as well as to its western neighbor, France. María's court's time in Wiener Neustadt and Vienna during Elizabeth's childhood and adolescence was a period of crystallization of dogma and codification of religious toleration and intolerance among Christians. This

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[12] The role of the Habsburgs' court in Vienna has become the subject of increased interest since Grete Klingenstein pointed out almost a decade ago in her review essay of John P. Spielman, *The City & the Crown: Vienna and the Imperial Court* (1993) how little it has been studied in detail: "Der Wiener Hof in der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Forschungsdesiderat," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 22 (1995), pp. 237–245. The Habsburgs' courts have been described as "instruments of conciliation." See Dries Raeymaeker's report on Luc Duerloo's paper at the November, 2006 conference in Brussels: "The Households of Habsburg Europe," *The Court Historian* 12 (2007), pp. 91–94. Here, p. 93. For an overview of recent works on early modern courts: Hannah Smith, "Court Studies and the Courts of Early Modern Europe," *Historical Journal* 49 (2007), pp. 1229–1238. Important works which include discussion of the central European Habsburgs' courts include Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, eds., *Princes, Patronage and the Nobility* (Oxford, 1991); John Adamson, ed., *The Princely Courts of Europe* (NY, 2000); Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780* (Cambridge, 2003). For more recent studies of the Vienna court, many of which deal with the seventeenth century, see the overview provided by Jakob Winter, "Ein teilausgebautes Haus ohne Fundament? Zum Forschungsstand des frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hofes am Beispiel der Organisationsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichischen Geschichtsforschung* 117 (2009), pp. 23–50. Much of this research relates to classic themes presented by Norbert Elias in his influential *The Court Society* (NY, 1983). A detailed response to Elias was provided by Jeroem Duindam in *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam, 1994). The specifics of female-led courts are touched on in Martin Kintzinger, "Die zwei Frauen des Königs. Zum politischen Handlungsspielraum von Fürstinnen im europäischen Spätmittelalter," pp. 377–398 in Jan Hirschbiegel and Werner Paravicini, eds., *Das Frauenzimmer: Die Frau am Hofe in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 2000).

[13] This point was raised by Jean Meyer in his introduction to the papers from a conference in 2000 in Marburg edited by Klaus Malettke, *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15.–18. Jh.)* (Munster, 2001), pp. 3–15. Meyer traced the history of courts back at least to ancient Egypt and China, but pointed out it reached its apogee in the seventeenth century in Europe.

was also a period in which Muslims were seen as standing menacingly outside the frame, and Jews sometime similarly within. They were, for example, years of conflict and fear of Ottoman expansion in the east and of open warfare that surely left its mental marks on the women of the court. The broadsides written about exotic eastern lands and battles and marching troops heading for the eastern front characterized Elizabeth's childhood, as did reports of impressive, if strange, lands to the far west across the ocean, lands whose economic impacts were just beginning to be felt, and whose cosmological impact is sure if hard to measure.

Archduchess Elizabeth was not the primary heiress, nor was she the eldest daughter and therefore destined for the premier marital match. She and her brothers and sisters who did not occupy those special family heights had to compete and cooperate in a world in which they were not the most privileged. This means that the following work must also spend some time discussing sibling relations, establishing Archduchess Elizabeth in the network of her most immediate kin. Indeed, more than siblings, her family extended to aunts and uncles and a bewildering array of female and male cousins scattered across the European continent in an array of political positions of varying significance.[14] The cousins, aunts and uncles could be legitimate or illegitimate, noble or common, but they were all connected dynastically to the girl that this book studies.

This book is a family history of a particular family, the Habsburgs, whose significance in early and late modern Europe (and parts of the wider world) can hardly be underestimated. During the period in question, the interactions of Elizabeth and her siblings (particularly the female ones) with the wider world were structured by the court in

[14] Michaela Hohkamp has studied the politics of family and the malleability of lineage, with particular emphasis on aunts. See "Sisters, Aunts, and Cousins: Familial Architectures and the Political Field in Early Modern Europe," pp. 91–104 in Jon Mathieu, David Warren Sabean, and Simon Teuscher, eds., *Kinship in Europe: Approaches to Long-Term Development (1300–1900)* (NY, 2007). Hohkamp points out that the most famous example of aunt-niece relations and their consequences can be found by looking at the Spanish Habsburgs' relations with their Bourbon neighbors (p. 98). Ute Küppers-Braun has made the related point that early modern dynasties should be seen not just as creations of hereditary succession, but as mechanisms tied as much to rule as to inheritance. "Dynastisches Handeln von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit," pp. 221–238 in Heide Wunder, ed., *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der Frühen Neuzeit. Geschlechter und Geschlecht* (Berlin, 2002). Here, pp. 221–222.

which she lived: that of her mother María.[15] The complex relationship between María and her husband Maximilian II has been discussed elsewhere, particularly in relation to his religious orientation.[16] Here, the emphasis will be on the important mother-daughter dynamic. María's success in producing children dictated the life at court, providing its rhythm of pregnancy, birth, and sometimes death. More important for the discussion which follows is how María's body's success provided the political capital which advanced the cause of the central European Habsburgs in relation to their relatives in Iberia. The throng of children produced by María and her husband provided their children the standing which they later enjoyed, whether as queens of France or Spain, as emperors, or as other significant political players in the Europe of their time.

Archduchess Elizabeth moved in imagined spaces that were tied in curious ways to the institutions through which she and her family achieved power and influence. Therefore, the book at hand will also devote space to the primary residence cities in which the archduchess lived, Wiener Neustadt and Vienna, in these key years in the urban spaces' development. This is particularly the case in Vienna, which negotiated a shift from border fortress city to imperial residence in the years of Elizabeth's youth. This is a phase of the city's history which is often overlooked in comparison to the period after the Ottoman siege of 1683.

Elizabeth moved beyond the newly-rebuilt walls of Vienna, to the older, late medieval residence city of Wiener Neustadt, into the wider reaches of the Habsburgs' lands—and beyond. Her trips to Prague, into the Empire outside of her family's holdings to places such as Frankfurt am Main and Augsburg, and into the contested Kingdom of Hungary and its new administrative capital of Bratislava allow a view of the complex political unit known as the Holy Roman Empire in the decades immediately following the well-known Peace of Augsburg, as its institutions were adjusted to the new, peculiar world of legal religious toleration of at least some Christian dissenters.

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[15] For introductions to the life of Empress María, see Friedrich Edelmayer, "Maria (de Austria)," *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 16 (1990), pp. 174–175 and Magdalena S. Sanchez, *The Empress, the Queen, and the Nun* (Baltimore, 1998).

[16] See, for example, Paula Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II* (New Haven, CT, 2001), pp. 19–21, 210–213.

The coronations in Prague, Frankfurt am Main, and Bratislava of 1562–1563 will be discussed in detail to allow for the interaction in the archduchess' experience of sacred rule as well as the mundane issues associated with power and authority. By moving outside of the Empire into Hungary, the story allows comparisons to be made between these two key elements of the Habsburgs' holding in central Europe, the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary. It also allows for some discussion of the ways these two key elements were melded, creating a connection which endured almost four centuries.[17] This connection would endure longer than the older ties to the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire would be abolished in 1806.

The Imperial Assembly (*Reichstag*) meeting Elizabeth attended in the Free City of Augsburg in 1566 provides the chance to experience one of the Empire's important, if confusing, political institutions as it was performed and experienced in one of the Empire's key cities and economic centers. There the women of the imperial court such as María and Elizabeth would have been able to experience the unofficial channels of authority and influence which power provided (and requires). The dances and banquets are not to be underestimated in their roles at such an assembly. The other ceremonies conducted under the female gaze are similarly not to be forgotten: the women in the windows exercised some type of control or influence over the activities beyond and below their window ledges.

This was a world of powerful threats to authority where the women and men of influence found intriguing ways to extend or buttress their positions, often through peculiar reutilizations of the past or inventions thereof. These included tournaments and damsels in distress, mounted cross-dressing knights, fireworks, and shiny suits of obsolescent armor. The relationship between the literature and the festivals of the period resulted in another complex context for this archduchess in her first fifteen years, a context which will also be touched upon below.

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[17] Heide Wunder has pointed out how women rulers and their spheres of action have often been excluded from general histories or handbooks because of these works' emphasis on state or nation building. Women's rule, she argued, was often seen as a retarding element due to the fact that many women were in charge of small territories that did not fit well into the great story of national consolidation. In the case of María of Habsburg, however, we see an example of how an interest in the concept "dynasty" and this woman's rule provides insight into how a larger political unit was cobbled together. "Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung: Geschlechter und Geschlechte," pp. 9–27 in Wunder, *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung*.

It will be shown how the particular religious upbringing of the archduchess in the shifting contexts of the western Christian theological controversies of the later sixteenth century clashed but also coexisted with other cultural traditions, including those now known as "late humanism" or "neo-medievalism."

Archduchess Elizabeth of Habsburg grew up in interesting times. The pages which follow will attempt to throw those times into relief by looking at them through the prism of a young princess and her life at the court of her mother Empress María. Here is a queen's apprentice.

Note on Bible translation used

All biblical citations and quotations are drawn from the Douay-Rheims English Language Version of the Latin Vulgate Bible (1609, 1582) as revised by Bishop Richard Challoner in 1749–1752 and published by the John Murphy Company in Baltimore in 1899. (Imprimatur: James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, September 1, 1899.) Reprinted in Chicago by TAN Books and Publishers, 2000.

CHAPTER ONE

PLAYING QUEEN. IN THE WOMEN'S COURT AT VIENNA AND WIENER NEUSTADT, 1554–1560

Archduchess Elizabeth of Habsburg was born in the *Hofburg*, the royal castle in Vienna, during the summer of 1554.[1] She was the fourth child of the uncrowned king and queen of Bohemia, Maximilian and María of Habsburg. Perhaps more importantly, she was the granddaughter of the emperor-king Charles V/Carlos I and his late consort Isabel. The baby was also the granddaughter of King of the Romans and heir presumptive in the Holy Roman Empire, the Spanish-born Ferdinand of Habsburg and his deceased wife Anna of Jagiellon. Born of an illustrious lineage, this little girl would stand in the midst of many of the important events and developments in Europe during her childhood and youth.

The swaddled child and her wet-nurses within the four-towered castle near the walls of Vienna would have had little idea of the shifting contexts of their patterned daily existence, but the incessant sounds from the construction about them could have served as hints indicating the transformation of the status of their home, the city whose new walls it helped protect, and the extended family of which the archduchess was part. In the late 1550's Vienna was becoming the capital of the Holy Roman Empire and king and then emperor Ferdinand was working night and day to settle the Christian religious disputes which had rent it. He also sought to reorganize the administration of that complex political unit and those of his family's hereditary lands stretching from Alsace, through the Alps, down to the Adriatic, out to Bohemia and into Hungary and (at times) Transylvania.

Most of the first four years of Elizabeth's life would be spent in the women's quarters of the Vienna castle. These quarters had been empty for a decade: her grandmother Anna, Queen of Bohemia and Hungary and Consort to the King of the Romans, had left Vienna

[1] There is some disagreement as to her exact birthdate: some works place it in June, others in July.

and moved to Prague back in 1544.[2] Elizabeth's various aunts, including the little Johanna whose birth had led to Queen Anna's death in 1547 at the age of 43, were growing up in Elizabeth's father Archduke Maximilian's childhood home, Innsbruck, the administrative capital of King Ferdinand's western provinces.[3]

Archduke Maximilian went to Spain the year after his mother's death. There he met and married the *infanta* María in Valladolid in September, 1548.[4] María, a year Maximilian's junior, had grown up at the Iberian court of her mother, the Portuguese-born Holy Roman Empress Isabel, until the imposing empress died when María was eleven. Her father, Charles V/I of the Holy Roman Empire and the Spanish kingdoms, was often away. Administrators ran things in the name of the absent king and his locked-away and widowed mother, Queen Juana of Castile.

María, her sister Juana, and their brother, the Spanish heir Philip, were very close. Even after he was removed from his mother's household and given a retinue of his own in 1535, María and Juana were Philip's almost constant companions.[5] The trio played and studied together, sharing time in typical childhood pursuits: learning to play musical instruments, figuring out the natural world, keeping birds as pets, and dabbling in the world of tournaments and romantic chivalry, needlepoint, and even some instruction on the intricacies of tapestry manufacture. (Tapestries were a key element in home furnishings. The experience and knowledge of weaving were important.) Some education in religion, history, classical languages, and geography rounded out their days. When María was fifteen, the sibling trio briefly gained a fourth member. Philip married their Portuguese cousin María Manuela in Salamanca in Fall, 1543, but she died four days after giving birth to a new Spanish heir, Carlos, two years later. At sixteen, María's brother Philip was a married man. He was declared Regent of Spain to rule in

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[2] Madelon Simons, "Ferdinand I of Bohemia, Archduke Ferdinand II and the Prague Court, 1527–1567," pp. 80–89 in Eliška Fučiková, et al., eds., *Rudolf II and Prague. The Court and the City* (Prague, 1997). Here, p. 84.

[3] For some themes relating to the court at Innsbruck, see the article collection: Jan Paul Niederkorn and Heinz Noflatscher, eds., *Der Innsbrucker Hof. Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft un Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2005).

[4] For the general background, see Ludwig Pfandl, *Philipp II. Gemälde eines Lebens und einer Zeit* (Munich, 1938. Reprint. Warsaw, 1969), pp. 179–188. See also Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, pp. 18–27.

[5] Patrick Williams, *Phillip II* (NY, 2001), pp. 10–11. See also Geoffrey Parker, *Phillip II* (Boston, 1978), pp. 5–15.

the names of his father and grandmother. By eighteen he was a widower, a role he would come to know well in his long life.

In addition to these two legitimate siblings, Philip and Juana, the *infanta* María had a half sister named Margarete, six years her senior, who was born in Oudenaarde in the Low Countries, the daughter of a carpetmaker. María had a half brother, Juan, who was appreciably younger than she was. Juan was born in Regensburg in 1547, reportedly the son of a burgher's daughter that María's father Charles had met between sessions of the Imperial Assembly.[6]

Margarete had moved to Florence when María was only five, so the two had little chance to know each other when they were growing up. Margarete married Pope Clement VII's nephew Alessandro de Medici, but was widowed shortly thereafter when her new husband was assassinated. She stayed in Italy and remarried, this time wedding the grandson of Pope Paul III. She would become Duchess of Parma through this marriage. María's half brother Juan, who was only seven when Elizabeth was born in Vienna, would go on to an illustrious military career as commander of the Spanish fleet in the Mediterranean.

María was twenty years old when she married the visiting central European, Maximilian. Archduke Maximilian was her first cousin, the eldest son of her father's younger brother, King Ferdinand. Like María, Ferdinand had been raised in Spain, and once she arrived in central Europe and met her father-in-law, a close relationship developed characterized by mutual support based partly on cultural understanding and shared roots. The courtiers who had come to Austria, Bohemia and Hungary with Ferdinand earlier in the century combined with the more numerous and higher-ranking courtiers in María's train to create a large and in some areas influential Spanish coterie at the Habsburgs' central European residences.[7] María would serve the rest of her life at (and as) an important communications point between the central European and Iberian branches of the Habsburg Dynasty, countering the split in the family which resulted when the male sides broke into one emanating from Emperor Charles and based in western Europe

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[6] Elizabeth's Uncle Juan was brought up by the wife of a good friend of his father as "Jerónimo Leganés." The identity of his mother is debated. Lynne Heller and Karl Vocelka, *Die Private Welt der Habsburger. Leben und Alltag einer Familie* (Graz, 1998), p. 138.

[7] Christopher F. Laferl, *Die Kultur der Spanier in Österreich unter Ferdinand I (1522–64)* (Vienna, 1997).

and increasingly into the Atlantic world, and a second emanating from King Ferdinand and based more to Europe's east with an axis along the Danube River.[8]

After a time serving as regents of the Habsburgs' Iberian kingdoms while Prince Philip was away, the newlyweds María and Maximilian and their new-born daughter Anna had moved to Vienna in 1552. There María and her extensive Spanish retinue settled into the redecorated castle rooms. Before Elizabeth's birth in 1554, two brothers, Rudolf and Ernst, had been born in the two previous Julys, so Elizabeth's infanthood was accompanied by the five-year-old Anna, the two-year-old future emperor Rudolf, and the one-year-old Ernst.[9] Three more siblings would be born in Vienna over the next three years, but only one, Elizabeth's brother Matthias, would survive. (He would also go on to be emperor and was born in February, 1557.)[10]

Elizabeth's first years were spent in the old and crowded castle. Expansion of the royal lodgings was underway: by the time Elizabeth was five years old new apartments were completed in an addition to the castle complex extending from its western tower. The return of a queen to the castle put particular pressures on the space available because the queen's retinue and children again had to be accommodated. In the period between the death of King Ferdinand's wife and the arrival of his daughter-in-law, this space "crunch" was not as pressing, but now the needs of the women at the court had to be accommodated.[11]

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[8] This is one of the themes in Sanchez, *Empress, the Queen, and the Nun*. The empress in the title is María. The nun is Elizabeth's little sister Margaretha who would be born when Elizabeth was almost thirteen. See also Joseph F. Patrouch, "The Archduchess Elisabeth (1554–1592): Where Spain and Austria Met," pp. 77–90 in Cameron M.K. Hewitt, Conrad Kent and Thomas Wolber, eds., *The Lion and the Eagle: Interdisciplinary Essays on German-Spanish Relations Over the Centuries* (NY, 1999).

[9] Rudolf would go on to reign as Holy Roman Emperor from 1576–1612.

[10] Matthias reigned as Holy Roman Emperor from 1612–1619.

[11] Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner raised the important point concerning the influence of women's needs on palace architecture using Spanish examples in her "Women's Quarters in Spanish Royal Palaces," pp. 127–136 in Jean Guillaume, ed., *Architecture et vie sociale à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1994). See p. 127, "I wish to raise the question of how women might have conditioned palatial architecture—not as patrons of buildings…but as users whose needs had to be accommodated." On the general developments in the construction of the Vienna *Hofburg* castle: "Die Hofburg im XVI Jahrhunderte," Moritz Dreger, *Baugeschichte der k.k. Hofburg in Wien bis zur 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1914), pp. 89–164.

The main castle had been damaged extensively during the Ottoman siege of Vienna back in 1529. It was undergoing decades of renovation and expansion. As if the war damage were not enough, the area of the city adjacent to the castle had also suffered a serious fire in 1525. It is estimated that around one third of Vienna's houses fell victim to that catastrophe.[12] The fire had probably started in some of the outbuildings of the castle complex across the square in front of it, a complex which included a foundry.

The first days of Archduchess Elizabeth's life were spent in the company of the women of the court, celebrating the birth through the exchange of presents and the visit of important female members of the extended family. Elizabeth's five-year-old sister Anna, as well as the toddlers her brothers Rudolf and Ernst, would have been present, together with their nursemaids, servants, and the ladies-in-waiting, as this important set of celebrations integrating Elizabeth into her mother's social worlds took place. Queen María, supervising from her elaborate bedstead, would have looked out at the world in which her second daughter was to live for most of her life, an intimate one marked by severe delineations of rank and status.[13]

Soon after her birth, Elizabeth had been carried into the castle chapel and baptized into the Christian religion. The bishop officiating at the ceremony and her godparents Archbishop Miklós Oláh of Esztergom and Ana María Lasso de Castilla, a Spanish noblewoman, took responsibility for the little girl's education in the tenets of this religion. They reveal much about the circumstances of her birth and the contexts into which she was born. The officiating cleric was no simple priest, nor was he a chaplain associated with the castle church or the courts of one of Elizabeth's parents or grandfather. The new bishop of the Hungarian diocese of Eger, Ferenc Újlaky, held her over the baptismal font and affirmed the family's commitment to infant baptism, a religious tenet concerning which not all of the women and men living in

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[12] Betrand M Buchmann, *Hof- Regierung-Stadtverwaltung. Wien als Sitz der österreichischen Zentralverwaltung von den Anfängen bis zum Untergang der Monarchie* (Munich, 2002), p. 35.

[13] See pp. 473–503, "Kindbettfeier, Namengebung und Taufe," in Beatrix Bastl, *Tugend, Liebe, Ehre. Die adelige Frau in der frühen Neuzeit* (Vienna, 2000). For some discussion and depictions of the spaces in which these celebrations and visits took place in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Florence, see Susanne Kress, "Frauenzimmer der Florentiner Renaissance und ihre Ausstattung: Eine erste 'Spurensuche,'" pp. 91–113 in Hirschbiegel and Paravicini, *Frauenzimmer*.

the Austrian lands in the sixteenth century agreed. When Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand had first come from Spain to Austria earlier in the century he had been confronted with a strong Anabaptist movement and had undertaken serious steps to eradicate it. Those women and men had not believed in the efficacy of infant baptism.

The presence of the bishop of Eger at Archduchess Elisabeth's baptism in Vienna in 1554 recalls the severe crisis of the Hungarian episcopacy in the period: after half of the Hungarian bishops fell on the battlefield at Mohács in 1526, the ecclesiastical structures in the kingdom were having a difficult time recovering. István György Tóth in his study of the Hungarian religious situation under King Ferdinand pointed out that at one time in the years following the battle there were only three consecrated bishops left in the entire kingdom. 1554 marked another wave of consecrations to try to make up this deficit when ten men were named to episcopal sees, although many of them, like the bishop of Eger at this baptismal ceremony in Vienna, exercised religious functions well away from their home churches.[14] (The Eger diocese was on the frontline of the battles with the Ottomans and substantially less secure than Vienna.) Bishop Ferenc also exercised important administrative functions for the Habsburgs in Hungary as one of their primary representatives there, as well as reportedly other official, secular roles at the court of King Ferdinand.[15]

Ferdinand, who had been away at the nearby residence city of Wiener Neustadt, returned to Vienna and probably attended his granddaugh-

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[14] István György Tóth, "Widersprüche der katholischen Erneuerung während der Herrschaft Ferdinands I.," pp. 153–162 in Martina, Fuchs, Teréz Oborni and Gábor Ujváry, eds., *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Ein mitteleuropäischer Herrscher* (Münster, 2005). Here, pp. 157–158. Tóth goes on to point out that by 1572 the number of bishops had sunk to four. Evans reports that this situation lasted a long time: until the 1680's over half of the Hungarian sees, according to him, existed only in title. Evans, *Making*, p. 248.

[15] Újlaky came from an important Hungarian noble family with holdings in the western part of the country. He was the Habsburg chief administrator (*Staathalter*) for Hungary from 1549–1554. See Franz Brendle, "Habsburg, Ungarn und das Reich im 16. Jahrhundert," pp. 1–26 in Wilhelm Kühlmann and Anton Schindling, eds., *Deutschland und Ungarn in ihren Bildungs- und Wissenschaftsbeziehungen während der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 2004). Here, p. 6. See also Franz Salamon, *Ungarn im Zeitaltar der Türkenherrschaft*, Gustav Jurány, trans. (Leipzig, 1887), p. 126. For more on the structure of the administration of the Habsburgs' holdings in Hungary, see Peter Rauscher, *Zwischen Ständen und Gläubigern. Die kaiserlichen Finanzen unter Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II. (1556–1576)* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 59–76.

ter's christening in the *Hofburg* chapel.[16] Religious controversies swirled around him. Not only were Lutheran ideas and practices gaining in popularity throughout his hereditary lands, his kingdom of Bohemia and those parts of Hungary under his control, but he had been negotiating a religious peace among the primary warring Christian factions in the Holy Roman Empire as a whole which would be sealed at the famous Imperial Assembly the following year in the Free City of Augsburg. Elizabeth's unhappy father Maximilian was rumored to be dabbling in unorthodox religious ideas.

The choice of a name for the little girl reflects a number of issues of importance for Elizabeth's early and later development. These include the role of family traditions and international connections as well as the significant patronage of a very popular saint. It can be speculated that the name "Elizabeth" spoke to both of the baby's parents. On the one hand, it was the name of her maternal grandmother, the late Empress Isabel at whose court in Toledo and elsewhere in Iberia Queen María had grown up. The name "Elizabeth" (or, more commonly "Isabel") would evoke the Portuguese kingdom of her mother's mother's birth. It would also evoke the memory of an empress (a position to which María aspired—and which she would ultimately attain.)

The choice of the name "Elizabeth" would have spoken to the baby's father, King Maximilian, too. His older sister Elizabeth and he had grown up together in Innsbruck, a Tyrolean town steeped in the memory of Maximilian's great-grandfather and namesake (and ultimately imperial predecessor) Maximilian I.[17] The sickly archduchess Elizabeth was a year older than Maximilian and left him to marry the Polish royal heir Sigismund when she was seventeen. She had died in Vilnius two years later in 1545 and would be followed on the Polish queens' throne by her also-ailing sister Katharina.[18] It is possible that memories of these two Elizabeths, one Portuguese, one Austrian, accompanied the little archduchess to the baptismal font in the *Hofburg* chapel in 1554.

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[16] Christoph Friedrich von Stälin, "Aufenthaltsorte Ferdinands I. 1521 bis 1564," *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 1 (1862), pp. 384–395. Here, p. 393.

[17] Joseph F. Patrouch, "Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire)," Vol. IV, pp. 62–64 in Jonathan Dewald, editor, *Europe 1450–1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World* (NY, 2004).

[18] Heller and Vocelka, *Private Welt*, p. 275.

The relationship with her patron saint would mark Archduchess Elizabeth's life in many ways. Saint Elizabeth (1207–1231) obviously served Archduchess Elizabeth as an example. The saint's life, as told by the thirteenth-century Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine in his wildly popular "Golden Legend," would be in the possession of the archduchess when she died, together with many relics associated with this saint. The story of Saint Elizabeth, a young princess, daughter of the queen and king of Hungary, who had been married off and widowed young, would speak to this young princess who would similarly wear widow's weeds at a tender age.[19] For her girlhood, the heroic stories of Saint Elizabeth's humility and charity would have most likely been reinforced by her religious instructors and her governess.

The role of the bishop of Eger in Elizabeth's baptismal ceremony speaks of other developments in Elizabeth's world in her early years. The importance of the Kingdom of Hungary, the realm of the holy crown of Saint Stephen, is clear from the key positions given to Hungarian clerics at Elizabeth's baptism. Not only was the officiating cleric the holder of a see situated on the contentious Habsburg-Ottoman border in central Hungary, but Elizabeth's godfather was the imposing 61-year-old Hungarian intellectual, politician and prelate, Miklós Oláh (1493–1568).[20] Oláh had been appointed Archbishop of Esztergom the

[19] Saint Elizabeth was canonized in 1233 shortly after her death. She was the daughter of Gertrud of Andechs-Meran (an important Tyrolean and southern Bavarian comtal family) and King Andreas II of Hungary. For more on Archduchess Elizabeth's later religiosity as a widow in Vienna, see Joseph F. Patrouch, "A Queen's Piety: Elizabeth of Habsburg and the Veneration of Saints," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 13 (2006), pp. 105–111.

[20] István Fazekas, "Miklós Oláhs Reformbestrebungen in der Erzdiözese Gran zwischen 1553 und 1568," pp. 163–178 in Fuchs, et al., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.* Oláh wrote about topography and classical archeology. See Evans, *Making*, p. 17. Evans reports that Oláh's religious undertakings in support of reformed Catholicism were modest and relatively unsuccessful: p. 49 (with reference to the published records of synods held during Oláh's reign.) See also Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century* (Columbus, OH, 1986), pp. 125–167. Birnbaum described Oláh as a "second generation" Hungarian Humanist (p. 126). According to her, he wrote "conventional" Latin poetry as well as descriptive literature about Hungary which conveyed "an idealized picture of a cherished homeland from which the author was separated" (p. 151). Oláh acted as Guardian for some of Ferdinand's children. In the period after Elizabeth's christening, he would increasingly dedicate himself to Counter-Reformation activities. He attended the council in Trent, invited the Jesuits to Hungary, published a reiteration of Catholic teachings in 1560, and wrote the statutes for a new college he established in Trnava. Oláh also drew up plans for an elementary school, showing the pedagogical orientation of Elizabeth's godfather. His influence at court declined after the accession

year before. In this capacity he also served as Primate of Hungary and was an important link between the Habsburgs' period of rule in that kingdom and the rule of their predecessors, the Jagiellonians.

Oláh had been active at the court of the Hungarian King Wladislaw II Jagiellon (r. 1490–1516) and, after the catastrophic loss on the battlefield of Mohacs in 1526 where the Hungarian army was decimated in combat with the Ottomans and the ruling king Louis II met his death, Oláh, unlike many of the Hungarian elite, chose to support the widowed queen Mary of Habsburg, baby Elizabeth's great aunt, in her attempts to hold Hungary. He became personal secretary to Queen Mary. Even though she chose not to stay in the embattled kingdom, preferring instead the safer confines of the Habsburg Low Countries where she would rule as governor, Mary held important dower properties in the northern mountain mining towns of greater Hungary and continued to influence the Habsburgs' administration of the kingdom for years to come.[21]

Baby Elizabeth's godfather Archbishop Oláh had accompanied Mary to the Low Countries back in 1531. While there, he had met and joined in friendship the Habsburg-friendly humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam before beginning a rapid ascent through the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy. First Bishop of Zagreb (1543) and then of Eger (1548), Oláh reached the highest Hungarian prelacy as Archbishop of Esztergom through his ties to the Habsburg claimants to the throne, ties shown and reinforced via offices such as this one, godfather, which he held.[22] The presence of two high-ranking Hungarian churchmen at Elizabeth's baptism is a clear indication of the importance of Hungarian affairs at this point in her life.

Géza Pálffy has argued that the 1550's mark a shift in the attitudes of at least some of the Hungarian elites to the (relatively) new regime of King Ferdinand and the Habsburgs.[23] The disputed election of

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of Maximilian, who was less than enamored with the old archbishop's increasingly-strident reformed Catholicism.

[21] Joseph F. Patrouch, "Mary of Hungary," Vol. I, pp. 282–284 in Reina Pennington, ed., *Amazons to Fighter Pilots: A Biographical Dictionary of Military Women* (Westport, CT, 2003).

[22] Márta Fata, *Ungarn, das Reich der Stephanskrone, im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung. Multiethnizität, Land und Konfession 1500 bis 1700* (Munster, 2000), pp. 73–75.

[23] Géza Pálffy, "Der Wiener Hof und die ungarischen Stände im 16. Jahrhundert," *Mitteillungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 109 (2001), pp. 346–381. Here, pp. 377–378.

Ferdinand following the military collapse of the Hungarian kingdom earlier in the century had been accompanied by the election and coronation of another claimant to the Hungarian throne, Janos Szapolyai (as king, John I). Civil war had marked the 1530's. Local magnates had gathered around one or the other of the two kings, both of whom had managed to obtain the necessary ceremonial step of being crowned with the crown of Saint Stephen at the traditional coronation site of Székesfehérvár.

The Ottoman occupation of central Hungary following King John I's death in 1541 and the Ottomans' military campaign two years later had served to remind the Hungarians of the precarious nature of their position, perhaps convincing at least some of them of the necessity of alliance with the Habsburgs ruling from the displaced Hungarian capital in Bratislava and the administrative offices scattered around Vienna. The Ottoman campaign of 1543 had led to the capture of the Hungarian primate's seat at Esztergom. When Archbishop Oláh stood as Elizabeth's godparent in the Vienna ceremony in 1554 his archiepiscopal residence was in Trnava not far from Bratislava (and Vienna).

In the 1540's and 1550's the dowager queen of Hungary Isabella of Jagiellon was actively pressing the claims of her son Janos Sigismund Szapolyai. New Ottoman conquests as the decade of the 1550's made it all the more important for the Habsburgs and their supporters to find and maintain alliances in the contested kingdom. King Ferdinand took these developments seriously and, although he had left the kingdom back in early 1528 never to reside there regularly again, he began to show up at the Hungarian diets held in the 1540's to "show the flag" and woo the Hungarian nobles to his cause. The baptism of the newborn archduchess Elizabeth in the summer of 1554 served as the opportunity to tie important Hungarian churchmen to the Habsburgs.

This policy was not without complications in Elizabeth's immediate family. Her godfather and father, for example, faced off while she was a toddler over a Lutheran preacher by the name of Gál Huszár in the important Hungarian customs station city of Magyaróvár. Archbishop Oláh wanted the secular arm's assistance in his campaign to shut down a printshop which the Viennese printer Raphael Hoffhalter had established in the city to help Huszár distribute his writings. Cleverly, Huszár had dedicated his book of sermons to Archduke Maximilian, who took the enterprise under his wing. For a while in Elizabeth's early childhood, Pastor Huszár's preacher training school and its affiliated

printshop helped train and influence non-orthodox Christian clerics active in the Hungarian kingdom.[24]

In mid-century, various Hungarian nobles began to see it as in their interest to send their daughters and sons to serve at the Vienna court, and while most of them did not invest so heavily in the undertaking so as to purchase a residence in Vienna, a few did. Pálffy has estimated that perhaps 3–4% of the courtiers in Vienna were of Hungarian extraction. Few of these nobles acquired high office at the Habsburg courts, although Franz Thurzó would be named head of the exchequer (*Hofkammer*) in 1556 and the Hungarian High Chamberlain Peter Macedónai held a similar post at Ferdinand's court.[25] From Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand's perspective Hungary was an important buffer zone between the Ottoman Empire and his core hereditary holdings, a buffer zone in which he was organizing a massive defensive fortification system with thousands of garrison troops under arms.

Equally important, the mining towns of Slovakia in the northern reaches of the Hungarian kingdom, particularly the royal city of Banská Bystrica, provided essential resources for both the war effort and export. Demand for the copper which these towns provided was skyrocketing. Slovakian copper served the defense industry as the essential ingredient in the casting of cannon. It also was an important architectural element for the new buildings being put up across Europe, including those Ferdinand was having built in his residence cities of Prague and Vienna. The roofs and elaborate decorative elements such as gargoyles, spires and cornices were hammered from copper sheets originating in the Slovakian mountainside. The copper exported via the important Silesian city of Wrocław and to the north eventually ended up in Iberia or the Iberian colonial possessions around the world. In the early sixteenth century, the Portuguese crown was the primary customer for Slovakian copper. Much of this was used in the burgeoning Portuguese shipbuilding industry.[26]

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[24] Fata, *Ungarn*, p. 74.

[25] Géza Pálffy, "Der ungarische Adel am Wiener Hof König Ferdinands I." Pp. 95–109 in Fuchs, et al., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.* Here, pp. 102–104. Evans has discussed the intermarriage strategies employed by the leading Hungarian aristocratic families. These families married into Bohemia and Austria, for example. Evans, *Making*, p. 246.

[26] Jozef Vlachovič, "Slovak Copper Boom in World Markets of the the Sixteenth and in the First Quarter of the Seventeenth Centuries," *Studia Historica Slovaca* 1 (1963), pp. 63–95.

Elizabeth's godfather and the officiating cleric at her baptism reflect the importance of the neighboring Kingdom of Hungary to the Habsburgs at this critical moment in their reign there. (This reign would last almost four centuries.) The baby's godmother reflects the Iberian and Mediterranean ties of the mother and grandfather and the importance of Spanish culture in the Vienna of the mid-sixteenth century. Elizabeth's godmother was Ana Maria Lasso de Castilla, the daughter of Polyxena Ungnad und Sonnegg and Pedro Lasso de Castilla. Polyxena was the sister of one of Elizabeth's father's courtiers and the daughter of the governor (*Landeshauptmann*) of the Habsburg province of Styria. Polyxena had been the godmother of Elizabeth's aunt, the archduchess Eleonore, who had been born twenty years before.[27] The young godmother was the product of the integration of Spanish nobles into the Austrian aristocracy.

Ana Maria's father was one of a trio of Spanish brothers (with Francisco and Diego) who served Elizabeth's grandfather. Diego was in diplomatic service and represented King Ferdinand at the papal court in Rome. Francisco began his career at court as a seneschal to Ferdinand before moving over to his son Maximilian's retinue. There Francisco achieved the position of Master of the Horse (*Oberststallmeister*), a prestigious position which he would later hold in the service of Queen María. Pedro Lasso de Castilla, Ana Maria's father, was a Knight of Santiago, one of the Spanish crusading orders tied to the crown. Pedro had served Ferdinand since he moved to central Europe. Like his brother Francisco, Pedro eventually reached the position of Master of the Horse. For a while, he served both Ferdinand in this capacity and Ferdinand's son Archduke Maximilian as Lord High Steward (*Obersthofmeister*). In the latter capacity he had traveled to Spain with the young Maximilian when the archduke had gone to meet María. At some point after their return to Vienna, Pedro had taken over as the head of María's court as her *mayordomo mayor*, so he may have been in charge of its affairs when Elizabeth was born. Four years later, he died and his brother Francisco took over the supervision of affairs relating to María's household.[28] The archduchess

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[27] Archduchess Eleonora (1534–1594) would go on to become the Duchess of Mantua. Her daughter Anna Caterina married Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand (Eleonora's older brother) in 1582. Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 77–78. *Dizionario biografica degla Italianos* (Rome, 1993), Vol. 42, pp. 419–422.

[28] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 243–245. Francisco Lasso de Castilla is listed as María's *Mayordomo mayor* in the list of her courtiers dated 1560: "Casa de la

Elizabeth would be brought up in a court headed by the sister of the Spanish king and directed by a Castilian nobleman. The daily language was most likely Spanish, the language which Elizabeth seems to have preferred throughout her life.

The baby's godmother and her godmother's relatives were part of the court Spanish party which had reinforced by the arrival of Queen María. According to Christopher F. Laferl in his detailed analysis of the Spanish courtiers in Austria at this time, after a period of numerical decline in the decades preceding María's move to Vienna, by 1553 the number of Spanish women and men at the various Habsburg courts in central Europe reached its high point. Laferl outlines the Spanish component at the three primary central European Habsburg courts in the year of Elizabeth's birth: King Ferdinand's, his daughter-in-law María's, and his son Maximilian's. Of María's 90 courtiers, 24 were originally from the Iberian Peninsula (26.6%). Maximilian's court included 24 Spanish members from its total of 325 (7.4%), and Ferdinand's court lists reveal an additional 26 Spanish in the total of approximately 550 people (5%), including the Grand Chamberlain (*Oberstkämmerer*) Martin de Guzman.

Guzman had started his court career back in Spain as a page at the court of Queen Isabella of Castile before moving to central Europe with Ferdinand where he was particularly active in diplomatic service. He had married the Upper Lusatian noblewoman Anna von Schönburg in 1538, again revealing the integration of the Spanish and central European nobilities which Habsburg court service encouraged.[29] (This time an Iberian nobleman married a noblewoman from one of María and Maximilian's Bohemian lands.) Of the around 965 people at the three courts of the most importance to Elizabeth in her first decade of life, her grandfather's and her parents', 75 (7.8%) were Spanish.[30]

The court in which Elizabeth spent most of her time, her mother's, was much more heavily Spanish than the overall numbers indicate.

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emperatriz doña María de Austria," pp. 699–703 in Santiago Fernández Conti and José Martínez Millán, eds., *La monarquía de Felipe II: La casa del rey*. Vol. 2: *Oficiales, ordenanzas y etiquetas* (Madrid, 2005). Here, p. 699.

[29] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 237–238. See also Ferdinand Menčik, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der kaiserlichen Hofämter," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 87 (1899) pp. 447–563. He discusses the responsibilities of the *Oberstkämmerer*, one of the leading court offices, normally third in prestige behind the Lord High Steward (*Oberstthofmeister*) and the Grand Marshall (*Obersthofmarschall*). Here, pp. 472–473.

[30] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 123–124.

According to the published list of her courtiers from 1560, when Elizabeth was six years old, almost all of the women and men in the leading positions seem to have come from Iberia, with some others from the Iberian-ruled Low Countries. The primary exceptions on this list were María's Master of the Horse, Adam von Dietrichstein, and two of her ladies-in-waiting, Katharina von Lamberg and Barbara von Puchheim.[31]

When compared to Géza Pálffy's estimate that 3–4% of the people at the Habsburg courts in central Europe at this time came from the neighboring Kingdom of Hungary, the estimate that twice as many women and men from the distant Iberian kingdoms (not including the affiliated Habsburg holdings in the Low Countries and Burgundy more generally) were part of the queen's court reveals the relative importance of dynastic connections over geographic ones in the life of little Archduchess Elizabeth. Spain would be closer to her than Hungary, although both, as indicated clearly in the roles of her godparents Miklós Oláh and Ana María Lasso de Castilla, were to be important parts of her life.

The physical and ceremonial worlds of the baby archduchess

The conglomeration of Hungarian and Iberian cultures at Queen María's court is also evident in the material culture of the women who served there. Basing their discussions on records drawn more from the seventeenth than the sixteenth century, Katrin Keller and Beatrix Bastl have sketched some of the characteristics of female court service for the central European Habsburgs.[32] Many of their conclusions probably also apply to the court of Queen María. Younger noblewomen in court service often came there as teenagers and stayed full time until their marriage. Keller estimates that about 10% of court women entered cloisters and another 15% remained unmarried but did not choose

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[31] Fernández Conti and Martínez Millán, *monarquía de Felipe II*, Vol. 2, pp. 699–700.

[32] Beatrix Bastl, "Das österreichische Frauenzimmer," pp. 355–371 in Hirschbiegel and Paravicini, *Frauenzimmer* and Katrin Keller, *Hofdamen: Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 2005).

the religious vocation.[33] Life at court was strictly regulated. The train of ladies would take public halls and ways to Mass every morning, eat common meals, and had a common time to go to bed. They needed permission to have visitors, to leave the castle, or even to visit the gardens outside. The door to the queen's apartments was closely guarded and marked the boundary to a segregated social world.[34]

An important source survives from the time of Archduchess Elizabeth's childhood concerning one of her mother Queen María's ladies-in-waiting as she entered this cloistered-like existence in the women's quarters: the daughter of Countess Anna Ludmilla, Anna Maria Eva, Countess Thurn, received instructions from her father Franz, an Imperial Count (*Reichsgraf*) and influential member of the Austrian nobility, about how to conduct herself at María's court. Anna Maria Eva's mother came from the Bohemian nobility: this couple again gives evidence of the integrative nature of the marriage "market" in the Habsburgs' diverse holdings. Count Thurn's written instructions dated 31 May, 1559 accompanied a detailed inventory of the possessions which the young countess took to court on a pack horse in four locked trunks.[35] The inventory reveals the extremely high cost of court service, together with the material possessions. These are referred to as the "clothes, jewelry, and sundry necessities"[36] deemed important for a young woman's life in the social world in which the baby Elizabeth was being raised.

The count's instructions or "fatherly teaching"[37] began "fear God and behave/pray piously daily" and ended with the rather touching injunction: "don't forget to write us often and read these instructions every day."[38] Admonitions to serve and honor the queen, to not talk ill of others, and to be generous to the poor were included, as was the order to "piously cultivate and maintain your virginity."[39]

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[33] Keller, *Hofdamen*, p. 52.

[34] Keller bases her general discussion of these matters on a number of written instructions for female courtiers dating from the sixteenth century and repeatedly copied in the seventeenth: Keller, *Hofdamen*, pp. 89–93.

[35] "Ausstattung der Anna Maria Thurn als Hoffräulein, 1559." Printed in Bastl, "Frauenzimmer," pp. 372–375.

[36] "*kleider, klainater vnnd allerlaÿ notturfft*"

[37] *"vatterliche leer"*

[38] *"Fuercht gott vnd gee nicht muessig bett taglich mit andacht" "schreib vns oft vnd liß taglich dise mein vatterliche leer vnd befelch vnd vergis nit darauf"*

[39] *"zeuch vnd halt dein junkhfrau in aller zucht vnd frumbkheidt"*

The list of possessions began with the jewelry of the countess. The golden chains, diamonds, rubies, pearls, silver belts, and cases, were all counted, listed, valued and weighed. Then, Anna Maria Eva's clothing and headgear were described, as were the soft furnishings, bed, linens, and tableware. Most of the items are described according to the materials from which they were made or the colors or patterns which characterized them. For example, one item was described as "a black velvet dress with rough silk stamped with golden seashells."[40] However, for fifteen items, a geographic or cultural designation was provided. These designations reveal the items as not "normal" for the Bohemian-born mother Anna Ludmilla and the father Franz from the southern hereditary lands of the Habsburgs bordering the Adriatic. To her parents and perhaps their staff, some of the new lady-in-waiting's possessions were foreign.

Among the dozens and dozens of items mentioned as being in Anna Maria Eva's possession when she went to court, one of them was identified as connected in some way to the Low Countries: a pair of detachable dress arms.[41] These clothing items played an important role in the fashionable tournaments, often considered somehow "Burgundian," which occupied so much of the courtiers' attention. A chain was identified as "welsh," a designator probably meaning Italian in this period.[42]

Three items were described as Hungarian. Anna Maria Eva had hand towels made "of Hungarian work,"[43] a "collar sewn with Hungarian work,"[44] and "aprons of Hungarian work."[45] The influence of the rather exotic Hungarian embroidery and seamstress work is clear here in the various items listed in the inventory. When considered in connection with the important role that the Hungarian kingdom was playing in the foreign policy of Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand and the clear presence of Hungarians at court (as evidenced by their leading roles at Archduchess Elizabeth's christening and elsewhere), Anna Maria Eva's choices of towels, collars and aprons becomes particularly significant.

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[40] "*ain Schwartz samaten janekher rockh mit graber saiden gestept zum guldenen muscheln*" Bastl points out the problems with translating the type of cloth: see p. 369, note 57.

[41] "*niederlendischer par ermell*"

[42] "*ain welsche schennge khetn*"

[43] "*von vngerischer arbeit handt tuecher*"

[44] "*goller von vngerischer arbeit*"

[45] "*fuertucher von vngerischer arbeit*"

Through these markers, she could associate herself with an important orientation of this Habsburg court in the 1550's.

The largest group of items in Anna Maria Eva's four locked chests which were specifically identified by cultural origin or style was the one connected to Spain. It seems that when the young countess, her parents, and their advisors prepared to join the court at which the little archduchess Elizabeth was soon to reach her fifth birthday, they felt it necessary to have a number of things considered to be "Spanish." Ten separate items were so identified in the May, 1559 inventory. A number of these were tied to head coverings, important symbolic markers indicating marital and religious status for women in mid-sixteenth century central Europe.

Three of these "Spanish" objects listed in the section of the inventory detailing the jewels and precious objects of the countess were fancy pieces of embroidery that, as the inventory explains, were worn over the hair. The first was richly decorated, with 22 rose-like arrangements of precious stones or pearls.[46] The second had 19 such "roses," 40 small golden beads, and 80 pearls. In addition to these three head decorations, the countess brought with her "head scarves that were worked in the Spanish manner with black silk"[47] a "Spanish coat,"[48] a pair of "Spanish gloves,"[49] two pairs of detachable sleeves worked in the Spanish fashion (one with red silk), "aprons of Spanish work,"[50] and a seat cushion cover "of red Spanish work."[51]

Clearly, there was an emphasis on things Spanish in the way the author of this inventory described the objects which the countess Thurn took with her as she entered the service of the uncrowned queen of Bohemia and Hungary. Hungarian objects played a secondary role, but cannot be dismissed in the context of Queen María's court given the volatile nature of that kingdom and the increased visibility and participation of Hungarian nobles at court in the 1550's. The ways that the young countess Thurn decided to dress herself would tell the women and men around her much about her interests and her ability to understand the nuances of court life.

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[46] *"zu ainem spanischem porten vbers haar am khopff zu geprauchen."*
[47] *"spanischer arbait mit schwartzer saiden haubt tuecher"*
[48] *"spanischen mantel"*
[49] *"ainen spanischem par hentschueh"*
[50] *"fuertucher von spanischer arbeit"*
[51] *"von roter spanischer arbeit khuß ziechen"*

The large investment that Countess and Count Thurn made in outfitting their daughter for service at court in Spring, 1559, an investment which Bastl compares in scale to a marriage portion, must be placed in the context of the changed political position of the queen María and her husband Maximilian after the formal accession of Ferdinand of Habsburg to the imperial throne in March, 1558.[52] Not only was Ferdinand now emperor, but the Habsburg family had decided that his son Maximilian, not María's brother Philip, would be advanced as the family's preferred candidate to be the imperial heir. Imperial Count Franz Thurn and his wife Anna Ludmilla of Bohemia's political horizon reached beyond the borders of the Habsburgs' hereditary lands. They saw new opportunities at the courts of María and Maximilian. These two now possessed claims to the future which attracted investments in the present. A few pieces of Hungarian clothing, or even a few fancy Spanish-style headdresses, gloves, and the like, could look worth the investment when the stakes were being raised from archducal or royal to imperial.

Possibly because service at María's court was now looking more intriguing and potentially rewarding, a court official, Oswald Maier, was asked to do some research concerning the marriages of the ladies-in-waiting at María's predecessor, Queen Anna's, court.[53] It had been over a decade since that queen's death and María's mostly Spanish court officials would have had little access to such information. Because one of the most important areas of influence the queen would have was in relation to the marriage negotiations for the teenage women in her care it was important for Queen María and her advisors to understand the central European traditions, precedents, and procedures.

The primary conclusions Bastl draws from her analysis of this document are that marriages contracted at court were between women and men of the noble families who participated in court life and the court's mobility was reflected in the various locations mentioned in Maier's list as the sites of the weddings. Vienna was the primary location (21), followed by Ferdinand's favored residence city of Innsbruck (13), the Bohemian capital of Prague (12), the important south German Imperial Free City of Augsburg (4), the Upper Austrian provincial capital of

[52] Bastl, "Frauenzimmer," p. 367.

[53] This "Verzeichnus von Hochzeitsdaten der Hofdamen der Königin Anna von Ungarn" is briefly discussed in Bastl, "Frauenzimmer," p. 360.

Linz (also 4)—where Ferdinand and Anna had married—and the secondary residential city of Wiener Neustadt (3). Archduchess Elizabeth would not travel as much as this list implies, although she moved more as she grew older. With the exception of Innsbruck, all of these cities would become familiar to the young archduchess.

In her study of early modern Spanish court ceremonial, Christina Hofmann has pointed to the three public ceremonies which could center about women: the *entrées* of the Spanish queens into their subject cities, the public awarding of the Golden Roses from the pope in recognition of exemplary service to the Church, and the ceremonies marking the wedding of a court lady.[54] These latter ceremonies were by far the most frequent both in Spain and in central Europe, and the marriages María helped arrange for her ladies served as an important mechanism of social integration between the elites in the disparate lands over which the Habsburgs held various claims.[55]

Hofmann's study is based to a large extent on later evidence than the period of Archduchess Elizabeth's life, and it is not totally clear to what extent "Spanish" forms were followed at the court in Vienna. The Burgundian court ceremonial for which the Spanish court is now famous was not officially introduced there until August, 1548, only a month before Elizabeth's parents were married in Valladolid. They would have had little time to experience its affects on court life. Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand, who had grown up in Spain under the protection of his namesake and grandfather Ferdinand of Aragon, introduced aspects of Burgundian court organization into the administration and court life of his lands in central Europe before his brother Charles did the same in the Habsburgs' Iberian holdings.[56]

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[54] Christina Hofmann, *Das Spanische Hofzeremoniell von 1500–1700* (Frankfurt/Main, 1985), p. 165.

[55] This point is discussed in some detail in Václav Bůžek and Géza Pálffy, "Integrating the Nobility from the Bohemian and Hungarian Lands at the Court of Ferdinand I," *Historica: Historical Sciences in the Czech Republic* Series Nova 10 (2003), pp. 53–92. The authors ascribe a large role for the future of the Habsburgs' holdings to the intermarrying of the Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian nobilities brokered through the courts such as Queen María's: "Close family links…established the framework of family relationships, from which a supranational aristocracy slowly emerged…" pp. 74–75. Bůžek and Pálffy give a number of other examples of Hungarians, particularly military commanders, marrying Austrian noblewomen.

[56] Friedrich B. Polleroß in his article on Habsburg residences in the early modern period points out that, even though Ferdinand introduced Burgundian court regulations into his court as early as 1527, it is not clear how far this was implemented by the time the Spanish courts took similar steps two decades later. Polleroß, "Tradition und

María's experiences in childhood were probably influenced less by the elaborate Burgundian courtly forms of her father and grandfather's homeland and more by the simpler forms of etiquette and organization followed by her Portuguese mother, Empress Isabel, at the court where María had grown up. Her grandfather Duke Phillip "the Fair" died before she was born and her father Charles was gone for a good percentage of her life before she married and moved to Vienna. Hofmann points out how the ceremonies enacted at the Spanish female courts were significantly different from those at the male ones. She goes so far as to theorize that the rules followed in the former were not of Burgundian origin at all.[57] For example, when dining the queen sometimes sat alone on a pillow at a low table and the three ladies serving her would do so kneeling.

Two institutions that the court historian Ivan von Žolger specifically pointed to as influenced by the Burgundian model were the chapel with its elaborate array of vocalists and musicians and the Royal Archers, or *Hartschieren*.[58] By 1537, King Ferdinand was organizing his receptions with gauntlets of these guards at attention to emphasize his authority both visually and militarily.[59] These uniformed guards carried the impressively long, decorated pikes and halberds which became part of much court ceremonial. During Archduchess Elizabeth's early childhood, the Royal Archers associated with her parents' court carried Burgundian-style pikes ostenstatiously engraved with the royal coats of arms of Bohemia and Hungary as well as the intwined monogram "MM" for "María and Maximilian." These shiny blades were visible reminders of the royal couple's political claims, which at the time included the Burgundian inheritance.[60]

The separation of the female sphere from the male ones at court meant that one of the most important duties of the female and male officers of the queen's court was to restrict the access of men to it. Doors and keys played important roles in the delineation of social

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Recreation: Die Residenzen der österreichischen Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit," *Majestas* 6 (1998), pp. 91–148. Here, see p. 97, note 25 and p. 99, note 32.

[57] Hofmann, *Spanische Hofzeremoniell*, p. 173.

[58] Ivan Von Žolger, *Der Hofstaat des Hauses Österreich* (Vienna, 1917), p. 63.

[59] Polleroß, "Tradition und Recreation," p. 97.

[60] For depictions of the blades and a brief discussion of their political significance, see Jutta Götzmann, et al., eds., *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation. Altes Reich und Neue Staaten. 1495–1806* Catalog Vol., pp. 150–151 (Inv. Nr. III:37 and 38). (Dresden, 2006).

space. Keys in particular would come to have an important symbolic function, marking as they did their holders as important figures with key boundary-keeping responsibilities. The banquet ceremony marking the exit of the lady-in-waiting into married life meant an end to her life at court (until, perhaps, she was a widow, returned as a Gentlewoman of the Chamber and was asked in her turn to serve as boundary keeper). The departure banquet would be the only time the young lady could eat with her royal sponsors.[61] From then on her duty was more about the exterior social and political worlds, where she would connect her family to her groom's.

In Queen María's court where the archduchess Elizabeth was serving her apprenticeship in the late 1550's and 1560's, life was punctuated by such banquets. Her father's court official Hans Khevenhüller entered Maximilian's service in 1558. After he returned from the obligatory "Grand Tour" in Italy to acquire the necessary court refinement, Khevenhüller kept a record of his undertakings at court and in diplomatic service.[62] In this diary he describes three marriages of women from María's court. In 1563, for example, Khevenhüller recalls that Elizabeth's older brothers Archdukes Rudolf and Ernst participated in their first joust in armor at the festivities celebrating the marriage of María's lady-in-waiting Caterina Zorannin of Hungary to Stennzl Thurzó from the same kingdom. Not long after that celebration, another of María's ladies, Barbara Wämfin, also of Hungary, had a court wedding. It, too, was celebrated with a tournament, this time running at rings, an increasingly popular target game. Wämfin's groom was the Hungarian lord Gabriel Mayladt.[63] In the tournament festivities Mayladt played one of the leading roles. Khevenhüller and his thirteen co-participants appeared dressed as "Moors."[64]

Four years later, in May, 1567, when Elizabeth was almost thirteen, Khevenhüller reports of another wedding of one of María's ladies. This time, Dorothea von Völs married Imperial Chamberlain Juan Manrique de Lara. Völs came from an important Tyrolean family which would soon gain holdings in the Bohemian kingdom. A member of the

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[61] Hofmann, *Spanische Hofzeremoniell*, p. 164.

[62] Hans Khevenhüller, *Geheimes Tagebuch 1548–1605* Georg Khevenhüller-Metsch, ed. (Graz, 1971).

[63] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 18. Zorannin and Wämfin do not appear on the court list of the queen María for 1560.

[64] *"all auf morisch klaid"*

family, Leonhard Colonna, had served repeatedly as Habsburg military commander on the Hungarian front and a Völs baroness had married the important Hungarian nobleman Peter Macedóniai.[65] Dorothea von Völs, Queen María's lady, had been in her service as a *dama de cámera* since at least 1560.[66] The bridegroom Juan Manrique de Lara was one of Maximilian's Spanish-born counselors and had been active in diplomatic service to Rome.[67] Juan's sister María married a courtier from the Bohemian nobility Vratislav von Pernštejn who served the court as Master of the Horse from 1562–1566.[68]

These three examples of weddings of María's court ladies, ladies whom the little Elizabeth would have known at court in the female quarters of the Habsburgs' residences, show how this court functioned as a marriage "market" where courtiers from the disparate lands of the Habsburgs met and allied, or in the case of the Hungarians, how Habsburg-friendly Hungarian nobles reinforced their positions with each other by utilizing the contacts they made or were presented to them in royal and imperial court service. It of course should also be pointed out that some of the marriages at court were between "Austrian" noblewomen and men. In the same year as the first two weddings mentioned above, 1563, for example, another marriage between courtiers took place. Magdalena von Lamberg married Heinrich von Starhemberg. Both had been in service at court.[69]

It appears that at times the different national factions at court did not get along. Disagreements between the courtiers associated with Maximilian's more central European and Low Country-influenced court and the courtiers associated with María's Iberian-influenced one were common.[70] At the Imperial Assembly in Augsburg held in 1555 when Elizabeth was barely a year old, her grandfather had felt compelled to write out a long memorandum to his three sons enjoining them to get along, and specifically instructing his eldest, King Maximilian, to remain in the old religion and refrain from firing

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[65] Bůžek and Pálffy, "Integrating," p. 72. Leonhard Colonna von Völs also served as *Obersthofmeister*. On the family, see M.A. Chisholm, "The Tirolean Aristocracy in 1567," *Austrian History Yearbook* 40 (2009), pp. 3–27. Here, pp. 16–17. See also Josef Nössing, ed., *Völs am Schlern 888–1988* (Völs am Schlern, 1988).

[66] Fernández Conti and Martínez Millán, *Monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 700.

[67] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 248.

[68] Menčik, "Hofämter, p. 477.

[69] Beatrix Bastl, "'Zu allem guten auferzogen'. Jugend in der höfischen Welt des 17./18. Jahrhunderts," *Praxis Geschichte* 11 (1997), pp. 12–16. Here, with contemporary painting of the bride, p. 15.

[70] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 30.

María's Spanish courtiers. (Maximilian may have been hearing from some of the German princes present at the assembly how unpopular the Spanish party in the Empire was in some circles. In any case he wanted to make sure of the electors' votes for his designation as Heir Apparent to the Empire.) Ferdinand wrote,

> …I want to firmly tell you, in a fatherly, faithful and earnest way, that it is not right that you bother and annoy my dear, friendly daughter, your holy, wedded and pious spouse by, among other things, removing her Spanish male and female servants, and those of other nations, whom she has brought with her and whom she loves and does not want to leave…because I know full well that you would not have liked it if one had taken your German servants away from you while you were in Spain…[71]

A few years later, after 1564, instructions were drawn up for the Grand Marshal, the second-ranking position at court after that of Lord High Steward. In addition to attending daily morning religious services and carrying the imperial sword of office in ceremonies, the marshal was to police the courtiers and to regulate conflicts between them. A paragraph in the instructions dealt explicitly with possible conflicts between the courtiers of the emperor and those of the empress. When a hearing was held by the Grand Marshal to rule on such matters, either the Lord High Steward of the empress or her marshal was to be present. The next paragraph of the instructions dealing with the offices of the Grand Chamberlain and the Master of the Horse also mentioned the possibility that the High Steward of the empress could file a charge against members of the two offices.[72]

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[71] "*…Ich will euch Maximilian auf das höchste ganz väterlch, treulich und ernstlich auferlegt haben, daß ihr wollet meine freundliche liebe Tochter, eure heilige, eheliche und fromme Gemahl nichten bekümmern und betrüben, das nicht recht ist, und unter andern mit Beurlaubung Ihrer Diener und Dienerinnen Hispanier, und von anderen Nationen die sie mit sich gebracht hat, und die sie lieb hat und nicht gern verlaßt…denn ich weiß wohl, daß ihr nicht gern hättet gesehen, daß man in Hispanien eure teutsche Diener abgethan hätte…*" [Emphasis in original transcription]. Franz Bernhard von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten aus gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen* (Vienna, 1838. Reprint: Graz, 1968), vol. 8, pp. 753–754.

[72] Menčik, "Beiträge," pp. 498–500. According to Menčik, such instructions for the High Stewards of the empresses or archduchesses are not extant (p. 463). See also the text of the instructions in Eduard von Strobl-Albeg, *Das Obersthofmarschallamt Sr. k. u. k. Apostol. Majestät* (Innsbruck, 1908), pp. 136–137: „*Aber zwischet unserm und unseren liebes gemahel hofgesind soll unser marschalckh in beysein der selben unser gemahel hofmaister oder marschalckh die sachen zwischen beider theil hofgesind verheren…*"

The religious world

The religious situation at the court in which Elizabeth was growing up was confused and likely confusing to the young archduchess. Her father's orientation was suspiciously favorable to the Lutherans who were in the process of having their faith legally recognized in the Empire. A quick look at the religious situation about the royal courts in Vienna when she was baptized reveals some of the characteristics of the moment.

Each of the three primary courts with which Elizabeth would have had contact when she was a small child, her grandfather's, her father's, and her mother's, had religious staffs headed by a chaplain or university-trained court preacher. The expensive keeping of separate religious staffs for each of Elizabeth's parents appears to have been an innovation, and probably reflected the differing religious orientations of the royal couple. Records from the reign of Elizabeth's grandmother Queen Anna dating from 1537 list 17 women and 11 men on staff, but no clerics. By way of contrast, María's court records of 1560 list 18 women and 14 men, including the six men employed for religious duties.[73]

In addition, the spruced-up castle in which Elizabeth was baptized contained a number of chapels, including the primary one where the baptismal ceremony was held. This chapel, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and All Saints, as well as the other chapels in the *Hofburg*, had their own administration and staff headed by a cleric known as the "court pastor" (*Pfarrer zu Hof*). This priest's office was funded at least partially through endowed incomes tied to properties inside and outside of Vienna. These latter in particular had suffered from the Ottoman assault on the city earlier in the century, so funds for the upkeep of the castle chapels were not abundant. The fire which had swept the city in 1525 also had destroyed the court pastor's lodgings in the Bräunerstraße. The working conditions for the men in this position were less than ideal.[74]

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[73] Karl Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen und Kriegswesen unter Ferdinand I. vom Jahre 1522 bis 1564," *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* 22 (1860), pp. 1–231. Here pp. 229–231. The expenses for María's court are listed as over 6,500 guilders a year higher than those of Anne.

[74] Cölestin Wolfsgruber, *Die k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle und die k. u. k. geistliche Hofkapelle* (Vienna, 1905), p. 58. Dietrich Kurze has pointed out the need for more detailed research on the courts' clerical component in the later middle ages and early

King Ferdinand's officials in the Grand Chamberlain's office supervised the large staff of chaplains, singers, and musicians who were needed to perform the various court religious ceremonies and accompanied his court on its frequent travels.[75] As discussed above, when Elizabeth was a baby and young girl this office was held by the Spanish nobleman Martin de Guzman. One important component of the chapel, which was led by the chapel director Petrus Massenus Moderatus in 1554, was the boys' choir. This section of the court alone had 30 members: two women to cook, 24 boys, a grammar teacher, a music teacher, and two male servants.[76]

In the area of Vienna where the castle was located there were a number of religious houses in various states of repair or disrepair, some flourishing and others almost abandoned. These included a Franciscan friary, a house of Augustinian hermits, two poorhouses with chapels, a canonry dedicated to Saint Dorothea, and the nearby parish church of Saint Michael. (The latter was right across the street from the castle gardens.) The Saint Dorothea Canonry church near the castle was home to an impressive Flemish tapestry depicting the sainted margrave Leopold III, a Habsburg favorite whose cult was tied to Austria and its rulers. The tapestry, woven about a half a century earlier, grandly depicted the saint and his family. It included an array of girls and women on its righthand side, many identified by coats of arms and captions. One of the women, the margravine Agnes, held a church model, echoing the model held by her husband Leopold. Elizabeth would be shown here in Saint Dorothea Church the importance of Saint Leopold and his wife, and the importance of founding churches.[77]

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modern period: „Zum Hofklerus im ausgehenden Mittelalter und am Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit," pp. 17–36 in Malettke *Hofgesellschaft und Höflingen*.

[75] Ludwig von Köchel in his history of the court chapel at this time estimates that during the period of King Ferdinand's rule in the mid-to-late 1550's (before he publicly presented himself as the emperor in 1558), the court chapel had between one and two dozen adult singers. Von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof- Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543–1867* (Vienna, 1869. Reprint, NY, 1976).

[76] Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 69.

[77] The tapestry was commissioned by the Humanist councilor to Emperors Frederick III and Maximilian I, Dr. Johannes Fuchsmagen and hung at his grave in the church. Later, it was acquired by the officials of Heiligenkreuz Abbey, where it can now be found. See Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III*., pp. 367–368 and ill. 23. See also Fritz Dworschak and Harry Kühnel, eds., *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich. Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte eines Landes im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna, 1963), ills., 208, 209, p. 212.

Farther away, but still within relatively easy walking distance for the archduchess once she was a few years old, were the church of the crusading order of the Knights of Saint John and the imposing cathedral dedicated to the martyr Saint Stephen with its famous spire, the tallest construction in the city. The cemetery surrounding the cathedral had a chapel in it, too.[78]

When Elizabeth was born, the modest diocese of Vienna had no bishop. A product of the undertakings of Emperor Frederick III (elected 1440, crowned by Pope Nicholas V in 1452), Vienna's diocese was too small to attract many careerist clerics and the city was too full of Lutheran-inclined burghers for many committed clerics to want to stay. The one bright spot in a rather dismal religious landscape when seen from the perspective of the established Latin Christian authorities was the presence of a 33-year-old charismatic preacher from Nijmegen in the lower Rhine valley just downstream from the lands of Elizabeth's uncle Wilhelm in Cleves, the Jesuit Peter Canisius. He had arrived in Vienna a little over two years before and was packing in crowds to hear his sermons at the cathedral and in the "Maria am Gestade" church of the bishops of Passau located in the older part of town. A university-trained theologian who had earned a doctorate in theology at the University of Bologna, Father Peter also served in Vienna as the confessor to the nuns at the convent of Saint James and lectured at the university. He quickly attracted the attention of King Ferdinand. The king appointed him Court Preacher and began trying to persuade him to take over the empty episcopal throne in Vienna.

Canisius would have nothing to do with this idea. King Ferdinand had written Pope Julius III (reigned 1550–1555) asking him to name the Jesuit to the vacant see, but Julius, who had been imprisoned by imperial troops during his term in office as governor of Rome during the sack of the city back in 1527, was none too forthcoming in response. He and Ferdinand were at odds over the reopening of the church council which had started in Trent and which Julius had moved, much to the dismay of Ferdinand and Emperor Charles V, to the university town of Bologna outside of the Empire in 1547, only to shut it down just two years before Elizabeth was born. Ferdinand

[78] Hans Lautensack's depiction of the city in 1558 shows clearly the various large church buildings, particularly the cathedral, sticking up above the still-incomplete walls. See Albert Camesina, "Über Lautensack's Ansicht Wien's vom Jahre 1558," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Alterthums-Vereines* 1 (1856).

thought that it was important to get the council discussions started again in order to cement the slowly-forming peace in the Empire following the messy religious wars which had disrupted it for so long. He and various popes would be at loggerheads for much of Elizabeth's early childhood over this issue.

Instead of appointing Canisius Bishop of Vienna, Pope Julius agreed to the Jesuit's temporary placement as the administrator of the diocese. The papal *breve* regarding this matter was issued 3 November, 1554. Relieved, Canisius wrote to his organization's director Ignatius of Loyola from Vienna on 25 March, 1555: "I thank God with all my heart for His goodness, that I now happily no longer need to fear the danger of becoming Bishop or Administrator (for a longer term)."[79] He continued that he was completing work on his German catechism, but that public opinion was turning against him: "Already now lampoons attacking Canisius are being distributed in Austria and I would be considered the primary opponent of the Lutherans."[80]

It was not only public opinion which was turning against Canisius: even at court his support was none too secure. For example, while King Ferdinand was out of town during 1555, Elizabeth's father Maximilian was given the responsibility of ruling. Maximilian utilized his position to delay the publication of the catechism to which Canisius had made mention in the letter to Loyola.[81] The papal representative in the capital, the nuncio Zaccaria Delfino, was one of the Jesuit's supporters and lobbied the pope on his behalf, but the prospect of the heir to the throne's opposition must have added to Canisius' misgivings about holding out in Vienna as one of the few advocates for the old faith.

There is no evidence that Canisius undertook anything in his capacity as nominal administrator of the Vienna diocese. By July, 1555 he had given up his post as Court Preacher and turned his back on the city and diocese, preferring instead the position of cathedral preacher in the important trading and banking center of Augsburg. He had been there, along with many of the notables from the Empire, as the Imperial Assembly hashed out the details of a religious settlement and

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[79] *"Zunächst danke ich Gott aus ganzen Herz für seine Güte, daß ich nun glücklicherweise die Gefahr, Bischof oder Bistumsverweser (für längerer Zeit) zu warden, nicht mehr zu fürchten brauche."* Petrus Canisius, *Briefe*. Burkhart Schneider, ed. and trans. (Salzburg, 1959), p. 147.

[80] "*Jetzt schon warden in Österreich Schähschriften über den Canisius verbreitet und ich gelte als der Hauptgegner der Lutheraner*." Canisius, *Briefe*, p. 148.

[81] Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 54.

he remained connected to the Augsburg cathedral for a number of years. On 7 June, 1556 he was named Provincial (head administrative officer) of the Jesuit province responsible for much of southern Germany and Switzerland. His stay in Vienna had been relatively short-lived, but he had established the Jesuits on a firm footing there. This was a foundation on which much was later to be built during Elizabeth's life.[82]

Canisius seems to have maintained at least some interest in and connections to Vienna even after leaving the Habsburgs' residence city. When Elizabeth was five, he corresponded with three students at the Jesuit-run school there who were intending to enter the Society of Jesus, replying from Augsburg to a letter they had written informing him of their decision. The three students, Georg Scherer, Georg Perrerer, and Gregor Roseffius, would all go on to make names for themselves, the first in close connection to Elizabeth. She would die with many books he authored in her possession. In his letter Father Peter wrote, "I ask you to make yourselves familiar with humility, the queen and schoolmistress of God's servants…"[83]

The initial years of Elizabeth's life in Vienna are marked by a notable degree of change and confusion in religious affairs, most of which probably escaped the young archduchess, ensconced as she was in the apartments of her mother. However, given the complex interrelationships between the court clerical structures and the surrounding episcopal and general clerical ones, as well as the essential role of religious ceremonies in the daily life of Elizabeth's parents' and grandfather's courts and in her initial education, some more of the developments in the religious spheres in which the Vienna *Hofburg* was located will be sketched.

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[82] There is a massive literature on Saint Peter Canisius, who was canonized in 1925. For his activities in Vienna, see Martin Krexner and Franz Loidl, *Wiens Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe* (Vienna, 1983), pp. 38–39. After his stay in Augsburg, Canisius went on to become the court preacher for Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand, the ruler of the conglomeration of central European Habsburg territories administered primarily from Innsbruck and referred to as "Upper Austria." After a number of years in Innsbruck in the 1570's, Canisius moved into Switzerland. He died there in 1597.

[83] "*bitte ich Sie, machen Sie sich mit der Demut, der Königin und Lehrmeisterin der Diener Gottes, vertraut…*" Pesserer went on to become a Latin teacher and died in Vienna when Elizabeth was 16. Roseffius went on to become one of Canisius' successors as cathedral preacher on the pulpit in Augsburg as well as leader of the Upper German province of the Jesuits. Canisius, *Briefe*, pp. 154–155.

The departure of Canisius left an opening available for a court preacher at King Ferdinand's court. For the next year this position was filled by Urban Textor [Weber], the bishop of Ljubljana and Ferdinand's confessor and almoner. Elizabeth's grandfather found it difficult to locate, hire and keep orthodox, unobjectionable clerics at his court. Textor would stay only a year in the position. Ferdinand complained, "as often as someone begins, he leaves and does not wish to stay, even though I give him fat and sufficient prebends."[84]

Elizabeth's father chose another route and a different court preacher. The position of Court Preacher at Maximilian's court was given to the controversial and Lutheran-inclined Johann Sebastian Pfauser, much to the consternation of many observers who were inclined to support the slowly-reforming Latin church structures instead of those being built up by the already-Reformed followers of various versions of the Wittenberg professor Martin Luther's teachings. Originally associated with King Ferdinand's court, Pfauser took the pulpit in Vienna in 1556 in his new official capacity.[85] He was reportedly married to the daughter of the city parish priest of Linz.[86]

Another Jesuit at the Vienna court, W. Elderen, wrote on 13 April, 1556, "Pfauser attacks us publicly in the sermons, calling us 'Jesu-nots' because we are ostensibly opposed to Jesus, even [calling us] robbers, thieves and demons."[87] It was not only Pfauser who was using the pulpits at the Vienna court to take on the Latin Christian establishment and its supporters, the Jesuits. The case of another of the court chaplains at the time, the Croatian Dr. Paul Skalich de Lika shows the difficulties faced by María and Ferdinand in this hostile environment. King Ferdinand had appointed Skalich to his chapel at the suggestion of the pope in 1556. Skalich also took a position teaching at the University of Vienna. Before long, he was quoted as having said in a

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[84] "*So oft es jemand zu warden beginnt, geht er weg und will nicht bleiben, da ich ihnen doch fette und genügende Pfründe angetragen habe.*" Quoted in Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 73.

[85] Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, pp. 36–37; Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 73. See also p. 605. note 2.

[86] Andreas Edel, *Der Kaiser und Kurpfalz Eine Studie zu den Grundelementen politischen Handelns bei Maximilian II. (1564–1576)* (Göttingen, 1997) p. 108.

[87] "*Pfauser zieht öffentlich in den Predigten gegen uns los, schilt uns Jesuwider, weil wir wider Jesum wären, ja sogar Räuber, Diebe, Teufelsbrüder.*" Quoted in Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 74. The pun reportedly made by Pfauser is not possible to translate into English: "Jesuwider" instead of "Jesuiten." It is funnier in the original.

sermon that "the pope is ruled by Satan." He was fired in late August, 1557.[88]

Scenes and struggles between Elizabeth's grandfather and father over the appointment of Pfauser and the general religious orientation of Maximilian would mark the initial years of Elizabeth's family life. Her mother María tried to steer a conciliatory course between the two men, using her third court and important father and brother as power bases. She also used her body and its (re)productivity: each child born provided insurance and capital to her husband and father-in-law's hereditary positions in the larger scheme of dynastic power politics. Prince and then King Philip of Spain's only heir, the sickly namesake of the emperor, Carlos, was hardly a pillar of support for his father and grandfather's ambitions, and Philip's current marriage to Queen Mary I of England and Ireland (ruled 1553–1558) did not seem to promise much in the way of additional hereditary capital, rumors of pregnancy notwithstanding.[89] María, on the other hand, by early 1557 could point to three sons and two daughters as evidence of her fecundity, and she was pregnant again by early 1558.

Dynastic concerns

The presence of sons buttressed María's position within the family. The presence of daughters did so as well because of the potential leverage and connections these young women could provide in marriage negotiations with other realms. María, titular Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, had daughters who could be marriage partners to the rulers of the competing kingdoms in the east, especially to the one Jagiellonian country to which the Habsburgs did not get claims following the Battle of Mohács, the massive conglomeration of territories and peoples, Poland-Lithuania.

In February, 1556 Dowager Queen Bona of Poland (1494–1557) was in Vienna breakfasting with Elizabeth's grandfather King Ferdinand. Elizabeth's great aunt Katharina, Dowager Duchess of Mantua, had married King Sigismund II of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1548–1572)

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[88] "…*der Papst wird von Satan regiert.*" Quoted in Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 71.

[89] This competition is described and placed in its broader dynastic context in Heller and Vocelka, *Private Welt*, pp. 14–15.

in Krakow less than a year before Elizabeth's birth.[90] Questions concerning marriages to the east, in this case with Poland-Lithuania and in other situations with the maverick rulers of Transylvania, would remind Habsburg decisionmakers of successful earlier ploys which had resulted in significant gains for the house, ploys such as the marriage of Elizabeth's great aunt Mary to the young ruler of Bohemia and Hungary back in 1522.

In the spring and summer of 1556, when Elizabeth was just two years old, her parents traveled to Brussels to meet with María's father and brother and other family members to discuss the future plans of the Habsburg dynasty. Elizabeth and her four siblings were sent to the castle residence on the hill overlooking the Danube at Linz. Her mother María was reportedly pregnant again: a contemporary letter writer with good connections to the court, Dr. Johann Zasius, wrote to a colleague in June that Maximilian had left Vienna on the last of May traveling upstream along the Danube toward Bavaria "with his dear spouse (who is heavy with child) and the youngsters, some of the royal children still in cradles."[91] Elizabeth's mother María's pregnancy apparently did not go to term. Her next reported sibling, Matthias, was not born until February, 1557.

María's husband Maximilian had grown disgruntled over the relatively insignificant positions he held. His lodgings in the *Hofburg* reflected his rather ambivalent political position in the shadows of his father and uncle. Space constraints and competition for rooms in the castle and the city were becoming more intense after the decision in the mid-1550's to make Vienna Ferdinand's primary residence and the administrative headquarters of the Empire. Administrators and

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[90] Report in Bavarian Hauptstaatsarchiv (KÄA 4306 f 55) dated Vienna, 28 Feb., 1556. Cited in Ernst Laubach, *Ferdinand I. als Kaiser. Politik und Herrscherauffassung des Nachfolgers Karls V.* (Munster, 2001), p. 636. Dowager Queen Bona's husband Sigismund I, the son of the Habsburg archduchess Elizabeth, had died in 1548. Bona was a niece of the late emperor Maximilian I through his wife Bianca Mara Sforza and mother of the ruling king, Sigismund II. Katharina (1533–1572) was Ferdinand's younger sister. She had married the duke of Mantua, who died in 1550, before moving on to marry Sigismund II. More will be told of this unhappy marriage below.

[91] "…*mit derselbenn geliebten gemachel (so darzu groß schwangers leibs) und den jungen zum thayl inn wiegen liegenden khunigklichen khindern.*" Text of letter in Otto Helmut Hopfen, *Kaiser Maximilian II und der Kompromißkatholizismus* (Munich, 1895), p. 181. Zasius would later be Imperial Vice Chancellor and one of Maximilian's two closest advisors from 1565–1570. See Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte und Berater," pp. 302, 305.

diplomatic representatives complained in their reports of the shortage of adequate housing. Unused rooms in the many empty or almost empty religious houses had to be pressed into use.[92]

The buildings associated with the Augustinian friary near the castle had been requisitioned for Maximilian. Records starting a couple of years before Elizabeth's birth show that attempts were being made to bring these apartments up to grade with paneling, new windows and other improvements.[93] He was indeed the heir-designate of the Kingdom of Bohemia, but the incomes from that land promised to María and to him (and conditions of the marriage in the first place) were slow to arrive. There were not even proper stalls for his prized horses. They had to be kept outside of the city's walls. To make matters worse, Queen María's dowry also had been slow to arrive. This was another matter to be placed on the table at the family meeting in the Low Countries.

María's and Maximilian's courts, without Elizabeth and the other children, traveled via Ulm on their way to Brussels, stopping for a few days first in Ingolstadt to visit María's sister-in-law Duchess Anna of Bavaria and her husband Albrecht. They then stopped in late June in Stuttgart at the court of Maximilian's friend Duke Christoph of Württemberg and his wife Duchess Anna Maria. In mid-July, the courts were in Jülich to visit María's sister-in-law Maria and her husband Duke Wilhelm. There, María and Maximilian participated at a baptism, this time of the ducal couple's fifth child, another Elisabeth. From Jülich the royal couple travelled on into the Habsburgs' lands in the Low Countries, meeting Crown Prince Philip in Louvain first and then arriving in the Habsburgs' administrative capital of Brussels accompanied by 2,000 horse. First met by the two Habsburg queens dowager resident there, Eleonore of France and Mary of Hungary, the couple was finally greeted by Emperor Charles V and the family negotiations could begin.[94]

King Maximilian still recalled the sting of the Habsburg family agreement which had been signed in March, 1551. This agreement envisioned

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[92] Edel, *Kaiser und Kurpfalz*, pp. 133–134.

[93] Harry Kühnel, "Forschungsergebnisse zur Geschichte der Wiener Hofburg V: Die Stallburg," *Anzeiger der philosophischen-historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 98 (1961), pp. 210–230. Here, p. 213.

[94] The trip is described in Robert Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II. bis zu seiner Thronbesteigung (1527–1564.) Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Übergangs von der Reformation zu der Gegenreformation* (Berlin, 1903), pp. 271–278.

the succession to the imperial throne as one which would alternate between Charles and Ferdinand's sons, having first Ferdinand follow Charles, then Philip follow Ferdinand. Only then was Maximilian to follow Philip.[95] This was a compromise, but an unworkable one. By 1555–1556, a new alternative had been worked out which foresaw a different division. In exchange for renouncing his claims to the Empire and the Habsburgs' hereditary lands in central Europe (but of course maintaining his position as head of the dynasty after the death of his father), Philip would receive the Iberian kingdoms with their African and American possessions, the viceroyalties of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, and—and here was the area of potential conflict with Elizabeth's father—various territories under imperial jurisdiction including the Low Countries, the Free County of Burgundy, and the Duchy of Milan.

Rumors circulated that summer in the Low Countries that one of the topics of the dynastic discussions in Brussels was the establishment of Elizabeth's father Maximilian as ruler of this amalgamation of territories on the western borders of the Empire. His wife's predecessor on the Hungarian queens' throne, Mary of Habsburg, had ruled here, why not María and Maximilian? A Bavarian agent who was present in Brussels at the time reported to Duke Albrecht of this common "rumor."[96] He went on to write, "I cannot really believe it and take it as common gossip; but if it were true, I would think that in many ways it would not be all that bad for either side."[97] Reportedly, María and her husband's major topic of discussions with her father and brother was the payment and conditions of her dowry. The topic of their daughters' marriages also came up. Emperor Charles was interested in reinforcing the peace with France. He suggested that María and Maximilian's second daughter, Elizabeth, be betrothed to Henri II of France's second son, Charles. Their eldest, Anna, was to be betrothed, in the interests of dynastic solidarity, to Philip's son Carlos.[98]

After taking leave of her father the emperor, María and her husband Maximilian left Brussels in early August for the trip back to central

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[95] Lutz, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, p. 54. See also Ludwig Pfandl, *Philipp II. Gemälde eines Lebens und einer Zeit* (Munich, 1938. Reprint, 1969), p. 233.

[96] "*Sage.*" Quoted in Walter Goetz, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte Herzog Albrechts V. und des Landsberger Bundes 1556–1598* (Munich, 1898), p. 41 note 1. Seld to Duke Albrecht, letter dated Brussels, 19 July, 1556.

[97] *Ibid., "Ich kan es nit wol glauben, halt es auch allain für gassenmer; aber dannocht, wen es war wär, so glaubt ich, es möcht in vil weg nit so gar übel für baide tail sein."*

[98] Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 284.

Europe. Stopping again at the court of Duchess Maria and her husband in Jülich-Cleves, the royal couple then travelled back to Stuttgart and the court of the duke and duchess of Württemberg. While there, Maximilian served as godfather to the ducal couple's son. The child was baptized "Maximilian" in honor of his godfather.[99] Here, an important member of the Empire's political elite is seen trying to tie the possible heir to the imperial throne to his house and his interests, interests which included closer ties between the Empire and the Kingdom of France. Duke Christoph had been in service there during the reign of King Francis I.[100]

After Stuttgart, María and Maximilian visited their brother-in-law Duke Albrecht of Bavaria in Ingolstadt. As Maximilian had requested in discussions with the French ambassador in Brussels, a French representative had been sent there to discuss relations between the titular king of Hungary and the King of France. The topic of Archduchess Elizabeth's betrothal to Duke Charles of France was again on the agenda, although King Henri apparently did not have high expectations in this regard.[101] Maximilian, who had been acquiring increased military command responsibilities on the Hungarian front, and who would be named second-in-command of the new War Council this year, could have seen improved ties with France as a way of relieving some pressure from the east.[102] The on-again, off-again relations between the French and Ottoman rulers complicated affairs in the

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[99] Matthäus Koch, ed, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Maximilians II.* (Leipzig, 1857), vol. 1, p. 4. See also the list of courtiers who accompanied the royal couple, including an abbreviated listing of Queen María's courtiers: pp. 3–4. The two courts were on their way back west by 10 August. The baby died the next year. See also Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 287.

[100] The history of the relationship of the duchy of Württemberg to the Empire in the early sixteenth century is a complex one. By the time María and Maximilian visited Stuttgart in 1556 the duchy was again in the hands of the hereditary dukes after a period of administration by the Habsburgs. Elizabeth's grandfather King Ferdinand had decided to maintain only the fief over the duchy, so the duchess and duke were adding to this "feudal" relationship with their request that their lord's son exercise the office of godfather. For more on the duke, see Bernhard Kugler, *Christoph, Herzog zu Württemberg* (Stuttgart, 1868–1872). For Maximilian's similar interest in connections to France, see Hopfen, *Kompromißkatholizismus*, p. 29. Financial considerations also played a role for the cash-strapped Habsburgs: less than a year before Duke Christoph had agreed to loan the crown 75,000 guilders for use in the war effort. Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen und Kriegswesen," p. 97, note 30.

[101] Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, p. 293.

[102] On Maximilian's increasing military responsibilities in this period, see Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, pp. 54–55, 57.

Hungarian kingdom.[103] After a brief stay at the Imperial Assembly meeting in Regensburg where Maximilian put in a good word supporting negotiations for some type of more permanent religious settlement, (hoping to also encourage thereby the Protestant princes to agree to more war contributions for the eastern front,) he and his wife María returned to Vienna.

While their parents were gone, the strenuous trip up the Danube from Vienna to Linz and the stay at the different lodgings in the provincial capital by Elizabeth and her two sisters and two brothers took a difficult turn when her little sister Archduchess Maria, not yet a year old, died. It is impossible to determine what the toddler Elizabeth took from this experience, but the funeral and mourning ceremonies which marked the summer months of 1556, months also marked by the absence of her parents, (and apparently following her mother's miscarriage) could have had some effects on the two-year-old. In any case, this experience of sibling loss and mourning would be something that Elizabeth would have three more times before she turned twelve.[104] Each time memories of past losses would have built on experiences of present ones. At the least, the archduchess had the opportunity to experience the mourning clothes, the darkened rooms, the candles and the chanting which would have accompanied the death of one of her mother's two namesakes, the first archduchess Maria.

Of course, these mourning ceremonies were not only for siblings: when other relatives such as great aunts or grandfathers died, the ceremonies would be repeated. The four-year-old Elizabeth would suffer through a particularly mournful year in this regard in 1558 when her grandfather Charles, the one-time emperor and king, and her great-aunts the dowager queen of France Eleonore and the dowager queen of Hungary, Mary, passed away, leaving only her grandfather Ferdinand

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[103] For the general context of this relationship, see Michael Hochedlinger „Die französisch-osmanische ‚Freundschaft' 1525–1792. Element antihabsburgische Politik, Gleichgewichtsinstrument, Prestigeunternehmung—Aufriß eines Problems," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichte* 102 (1994), pp. 108–164. Hochedlinger points out that there was never a formal French-Ottoman alliance. Even though there were multiple diplomatic contacts between the Habsburgs and the French in 1559, this relationship became less important as the English and the rebels in the Low Countries became the Habsburgs' main opponents in the west (pp. 118–119).

[104] Katalin Péter points out that deaths of aristocrats' children were very common in this period. Elizabeth's experiences would hardly have been unique. Péter, ed., *Beloved Children: History of Aristocratic Childhood in Hungary in the Early Modern Age* (Budapest, 2001). Rachel and János Hideg, trans.

and the dowager queen of Portugal, Katharina, from that generation of the Habsburg family.[105]

Some idea of the consequences for the young Elizabeth can be seen in court financial records in this year. King Ferdinand's tapestry maker is recorded to have received payments for a double eagle he had sewn on a golden baldachin for use in the procession along with an altar-cloth and black wallhangings for the imperial apartments. These were for the memorial services for Dowager Queen Eleonore of France, Elizabeth's great-aunt.[106]

The outcomes of the 1556 family conference in Brussels had to have been pleasing for María, her husband, and her father-in-law. María was Maximilian's trump card in these discussions. His queen, the Habsburg, trumped his brother-in-law's queen, the Tudor. In the game that was dynastic politics, María and Maximilian traveled to Brussels in the summer of 1556 in a strong position. Her father (and her husband's uncle) Charles had already resigned the thrones of Spain in favor of her brother Philip, who in his turn had renounced claim to the imperial title. Charles had also agreed to the controversial step of resigning this title in favor of her father-in-law (and uncle) Ferdinand. María's prospects of becoming empress were looking brighter. There were of course concessions made to her brother and nephew Carlos concerning certain inheritances and partitions, particularly as they related to the Low Countries and the Habsburg possessions in Italy, but these at least kept things in the family, and how upset could she be about the gains made by her brother and nephew?

It was the pope and some of the imperial electors and other princes who were upset at this "in-house" arrangement sealed in 1556 by Emperor Charles' official abdication and transfer of the imperial title to his brother. The 80-year-old neapolitan Giampietro Carafa, who had been raised to the See of Rome the year before and was now known as Pope Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559), was adamant in his position that no emperor could simply resign without papal approval. He was particularly suspicious of the Habsburgs, with whom he was at war.

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[105] The historian Ludwig Pfandl called the period from late 1558 through 1559 the end of an era. In addition to the deaths of the three Habsburgs mentioned here, Queen Mary I of England and Ireland and Pope Paul IV also died. Pfandl, *Philipp II*., p. 341. María and Maximilian's generation would increasingly be responsible for events.

[106] Wendelin Böheim, "Urkunden und Regesten aus der k.k. Hofbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888), pp. XCI–CCCXIII. Here, pp. CXVII–CXVIII.

As the Spanish general Alba's troops marched on Rome that Fall he was in no mood to agree with Elizabeth's grandfather emperor-elect Ferdinand on the necessity of reconvening the ecclesiastical council in Trent. Even after the crisis passed and Alba reconciled himself with the pope, who in exchange rewarded the general's wife with the sacred Golden Rose, Pope Paul did not give in on the council issue.[107]

Pope Paul's suspicions of Ferdinand were due largely to the Habsburg's role in negotiating the Peace of Augsburg. They also were related to the pope's distrust of María's husband Maximilian's religious orientation. The pope thought that the Habsburg emperor-designate Ferdinand treated his son too leniently and was "soft" on Lutheranism, something this ascetic one-time inquisitor could not countenance. He went so far as to blame Ferdinand for the improper education of his son, citing the biblical story of the priest Heli whose inattention to the shortcomings of his sons led to the defeat of Israel and the loss of the Ark of the Covenant. As this story relates, God told Samuel, "…that I will judge [Heli's] house for ever, for inequity, because he knew that his sons did wickedly, and did not chastise them." (I Kings 3:13).[108]

This position on the part of the pope put Ferdinand in a difficult position. While he wanted to maintain the integrity of the Church and recognized the special position of the pope within that set of institutions, he also wanted his son, daughter-in-law, and grandson to succeed him in the imperial offices which he had expected since his initial election as King of the Romans 25 years before in Cologne. One positive side of the negative attention given to Ferdinand by Pope Paul was that German Protestants saw Elizabeth's grandfather more favorably, improving his political position within the Empire in this important period of regime change and religious peace.[109] (The unstable position on the Hungarian frontier must also be kept in mind.)

When Archduchess Elizabeth, her sister Anna, and her brothers Rudolf and Ernst returned to Vienna and their parents in late Summer, 1556, they returned to news of their mother María's new pregnancy. Lynne Heller and Karl Vocelka in their book on the private world of the Habsburgs reported that normally pregnancies were made known

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[107] Elisabeth Cornides, *Rose und Schwert im päpstlichen Zeremoniel von den Anfängen bis zum Pontifikat Gregors XIII.* (Vienna, 1967), p. 116.
[108] Laubach, *Ferdinand I.*, p. 276.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

at the court around the end of the first trimester.[110] Elizabeth and her sister and brothers would become accustomed to the news: Elizabeth would hear it again nine of the next twelve years. Preparations for birth, including discussions about who would serve as governesses and godparents, would consume much of the attention of the members of María's court, as would religious ceremonies and medical procedures such as bleedings meant to ensure a healthy delivery.

Shifting staffs

The religious ceremonies Elizabeth experienced were certainly supervised more by the queen's staff of clerics or those of her father-in-law than those of her husband. The castle pastor Burkhard de Monte (who had served in that position since before Elizabeth was born) and his staff of chaplains, choir members (men and boys), and musicians dedicated themselves daily to singing Masses asking for God's support in the upcoming trying times of pregnancy and birth. Two important senior clerics, Antonín Brus and Urban Sagstetter, entered royal service in the *Hofburg* around this time; both would be asked to fill the shoes of Peter Canisius who had moved on to other challenges.

Brus was named to King Ferdinand's Privy Council in 1556. He was a 38-year-old Moravian who had entered the Bohemian crusading order of the Knights with the Red Star. His clerical career began with the Moravian troops on the Ottoman front. After a stint as a parish priest in a Bohemian parish, which, like many if not most Bohemian parishes, included a large number of parishioners not inclined to the Old Religion (a position potentially more dangerous than his war-time one), Brus had been elected Grand Master of his order. His reputation as a preacher was such that his king, Ferdinand, called him to the royal council. Not long thereafter, on the advice of Canisius, Ferdinand took Brus onto his staff as his confessor.[111]

The second senior cleric called to service in the royal court in Vienna in 1556, and one most likely present during this time of María's pregnancy, was the bishop of Gurk, (a small prince-bishopric

[110] Heller and Vocelka, *Private Welt*, p. 27.

[111] Krexner and Loidl, *Wiens Bischöfe*, p. 40. Erwin Gatz, ed., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches* vol. I: *1448–1648* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 85–88.

in the Habsburg duchy of Carinthia), Urban Sagstetter. By that summer Sagstetter had been named King Ferdinand's Court Preacher and councilor. Jakob Obersteiner has theorized that Ferdinand appointed Sagstetter to his position at least partially to try and to influence, or at least supervise, Elizabeth's father.[112] The bishop of Gurk became a close advisor to Ferdinand and was an advocate of compromise on matters religious, especially when it came to practices such as Communion in both species and clerical marriage.

Sagstetter's parents had been killed by an Ottoman raiding party when he was three years old. A local parish chronicle reports that he survived this raid on his village near the city of Wiener Neustadt by hiding in a dung heap. A seigneurial administrator had taken the orphan into his care and Sagstetter had gone into service as a page at the court of one of King Ferdinand's counselors. After the death of his protector, Sagstetter worked for various Viennese burghers and visited theology lectures at the Vienna university. He was consecrated deacon by the bishop of Vienna in 1547 when Sagstetter was 18 years old. This was the start of an amazing ecclesiastical career which would lead him to the royal and then imperial courts.[113]

Elizabeth spent much of her childhood in a world influenced by Bishop Urban Sagstetter of Gurk. His practical approach to Christians' religious differences and his animosity toward the Ottoman empire whose soldiers had killed his parents were characteristic of many people's attitudes at this time. Sagstetter worked his way up the ranks: after his initial consecration he worked as a preacher at the Vienna city poorhouse (*Bürgerspital*) located on the Swine Market not far from the *Hofburg* in the buildings once occupied by a house of Franciscan nuns.[114]

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[112] Jakob Obersteiner, *Die Bischöfe von Gurk (1072–1822)* (Klagenfurt, 1969), p. 312, note 20.

[113] Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, pp. 310–311.

[114] Following the destruction of the *Bürgerspital* at its previous location outside of the Carinthian Gate by the besieging Ottoman troops back in 1529, the authorities had relocated the poorhouse and resettled the few nuns still residing in the nunnery into a nearby pilgrims' hostel and its relatively new chapel dedicated to Saint Anne. Felix Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien* (Vienna, 1992): "Annakirche," vol. 1, pp. 115–116; "Burgerspital," pp. 512–514; "Clarakloster," pp. 578–579; "Pilgrimhaus," vol. 4, p. 554. The Franciscans' church dedicated to Saint Clare became the poor house's chapel. It had been incorporated into the city's defenses during the Ottoman siege and its crypt held the remains of a number of the soldiers who fell during that battle. The last nun from the Franciscan convent, Regina Halbpeyr, was resettled into Saint James Cloister in 1570, leaving the Saint Anna chapel and hostel complex in the hands of provincial administrators until Elizabeth's older brother Rudolf began turning it over to the

After his ordination as a priest, Sagstetter moved on to become the court preacher for the bishop of Passau, the large diocese which surrounded Vienna's little one. The diocese of Passau reached outside of the Habsburgs' hereditary lands into those of the neighboring dukes of Bavaria. (The bishops also possessed a modest prince-bishopric.) The Lower Austrian parts of the diocese were administered from offices in the city of Vienna. Sagstetter established a great reputation as a sermonizer while in service in Passau and was appointed the cathedral preacher there. It is probably in this capacity that Ferdinand became acquainted with him. The king had been in Passau for various religious negotiations in 1552. Sagstetter was named auxiliary bishop of the Passau diocese and participated in a visitation of the Austrian parts of it in 1555 before King Ferdinand lured him away from that position with the Gurk bishop's miter and the prestigious titles of Court Preacher and Court Counselor.[115]

In María's court where archduchess Elizabeth was playing, the event of the year was the birth of a brother in February, 1557. Named Matthias, this little sibling would one day become emperor. Right now, his birth served as the occasion for celebrations and socializing. Only seven months had passed since the death of Archduchess Maria. María's court could now move from mourning and expectation to celebration. In the sibling rivalry with María's brother Philip far to the west in Spain and England, the sister could now boast three sons to the brother's sickly one.

Financially, things were also looking up for Elizabeth's parents. As part of María's marriage settlement, they had been promised substantial incomes from Silesia and the Lusatias, sections of the complex Bohemian kingdom whose political rulers seemed often more favorably inclined toward the Habsburgs than those from the heartland of the kingdom around Prague. Now, María's father-in-law seemed able and willing to organize payment. (This probably had something to do with her father's agreement to pay her dowry.) Emperor-Elect Ferdinand's credit was increasing. His new-found expectations had a spill-over effect on those of his daughter-in-law and son (and his four grandchildren!) María's dowry incomes which had apparently been

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Jesuits. They made it the seat of their novitiate. For more on the situation of the female religious houses in the city, see Joseph F. Patrouch, "Das Königinkloster—Wiener Klosterfrauen um 1580," *Pro Civitate Austriae* NF 7 (2002), pp. 45–52.

[115] Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, pp. 311–312.

discussed in Brussels the summer before continued, however, to be an item of dispute between her husband and her brother: more than two years later the Venetian ambassador at the imperial court then in Prague, Simone Lando, was reporting that Maximilian was still asking King Philip to pay up.[116]

The Habsburgs had the practice of assigning specific cameral incomes and rights to brides who married Habsburg sons. (This manner of supporting brides was common across Europe.) When Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand had married the Jagiellonian princess Anna, the marriage contract dated 22 July, 1515 outlined the specific incomes Anna was to enjoy, either to support her court during her reign, or to support her in her widowhood if her husband predeceased her. These included incomes from the Habsburg hereditary rights over various cities and towns in their lands such as Judenburg, Leoben, Steyr, Lembach, Impst, Kaltern, and Altenburg.[117] Elizabeth's great aunt Mary had been assigned incomes from Hungarian instances as part of the marriage negotiations. Unlike her sister-in-law Anna who predeceased her spouse, Mary had the opportunity to enjoy these incomes in her widowhood. The debates and discussions surrounding them marred the relationship between Mary and her brother and successor in Hungary, Ferdinand. The structure of these Hungarian incomes and the way the Habsburgs chose to administer them would have significant impact on Habsburg policies and budgets during the course of Elizabeth's life, and later.

Like Anne Jagiellon and Mary "of Hungary," María of Spain was assigned incomes, properties, and rights. Some of these came from traditional Bohemian queenly incomes in Bohemia proper and others from incomes and rights in the affiliated lands of the Bohemian crown: the Lusatias and Silesia.[118] Combined with the incomes assigned to María's husband Maximilian, the total allowed for at least some independent undertakings on the part of the couple. One of the most lasting was the construction of a new Vienna residence for Elizabeth's family. In his history of this building, Harry Kühnel pointed to the new incomes as

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[116] Gustav Turba, ed., *Venetianische Depeschen von Kaiserhofe* (Vienna, 1895), vol. 3, p. 78: report dated 28 Nov., 1558.

[117] Von Žolger, *Hofstaat*, p. 325.

[118] For more on sources relating to the chamberlain's office responsible for incomes from the queen's cities such as Trutnov and Kostelec nad Ladem, see Antonin Haas, *Archiv korony české* (Prague, 1968), vol. 7: *1526–1576*, p. 116.

almost certainly the source for the funding of the residence. The building has become known as the *Stallburg* because of the important role the completed building's structure gave to the stalls for Maximilian's horses.[119] Begun in 1559, it would not be done until a decade later, partly because, as will be seen, María and Maximilian's courts were soon to leave Vienna for the better part of the next decade.

Many years later, after Maximilian had died and while Elizabeth's brother Rudolf, the emperor and Bohemian king, was trying to administer the dower properties in the name of his widowed mother, a list was drawn up of the so-called "queen's cities," those Bohemian royal cities the incomes from which were traditionally assigned to the queen for her upkeep. There were seven cities in this 1582 list.[120] The rights associated with queens' possessions such as these provided opportunities for the queen's influence on the political, economic, religious, and other scenes.

The balance of cameral rights and strict cash incomes varied with time, as did the opportunities for patronage. As is often the case in early modern governance structures, the role of the individual administrators charged with supervising the collection and payment of incomes was very important. Somehow, these administrators had to be made to believe that it was their duty or in their interest (or both) to loyally serve the queen without skimming too much off the top or undermining the queen's intentions in other ways. Ideologies of obedience and in this case particularly of chivalry were important elements in helping to maintain the apparatus of queenly governance.

Emperor-king Rudolf's representatives by the early 1580's were having a hard time coming up with the needed cash to send to Rudolf and the dowager empress-queen María. By this time she had returned to her homeland in Iberia. It was much more difficult to motivate the responsible administrators and courtiers to serve an absent queen. In the late 1550's the presence of María and her children in nearby Vienna made the cause easier to sell.

The reorganization of the Habsburgs' administration of their hereditary lands, Bohemia, and Hungary was accelerated as Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand took over the responsibility of ruling much of

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[119] Kühnel, "Forschungsergebnisse," pp. 213–214. According to Kühnel, Maximilian began receiving regular payments from the Silesian Vicedom's office starting in 1557.

[120] Königliches Böhmische Landesarchiv, *Die Böhmischen Landtagsverhandlungen und Landtagsbeschüsse* (Prague, 1890), vol. 6, *1581–85*, p. 178.

the rest of the Holy Roman Empire. Given the threats of attack on the Hungarian frontier, threats which by Summer, 1557 were escalating into castle sieges and raids of an increasingly serious nature in the northeastern part of the country, defense was of primary concern. Elizabeth's grandfather, father and her uncle Ferdinand (who had become Regent of Bohemia in 1547) dedicated substantial amounts of time and energy to expanding the defenses to the east, and for a while had even succeeded in gaining control of a major part of the eastern part of Hungary, the semi-autonomous territory of Transylvania.

Elizabeth's father Maximilian's financial situation seems to have been to some extent dependent on the political situation in Hungary.[121] In 1551, acting in the name of her young son John, the Dowager (anti-) Queen of Hungary, Isabella Jagiello, widow of the Habsburgs' rival to the Hungarian throne, John I, had abdicated in favor of the Habsburg claimant Ferdinand. As compensation, the dowager was granted two Silesian principalities, Opole and Racibórz. It was payments from these two principalities which would later flow into Maximilian's coffers.

Dowager Queen Isabella was the older sister of the king of Poland-Lithuania, Sigismund II August. King Sigismund had been married to Elizabeth's aunt Elizabeth (after whom Elizabeth had possibly been named.) As part of the machinations concerning the thrones in Poland and Hungary, Sigismund would marry another of Elizabeth's aunts, Katharina, the dowager duchess of Mantua, in Krakow on 31 July, 1553. Elizabeth will get to know Aunt Katharina after she fled this unhappy marriage and returned to Vienna when Elizabeth was 12. Aunt Katharina had put more than her political and diplomatic positions in play in support of the Habsburgs' war in Hungary. Financial records reveal that even before her wedding the Polish queen-to-be loaned her brother Ferdinand and nephew Maximilian 30,000 Crowns for use in meeting their overwhelming expenses.[122]

The Habsburgs' Hungarian successes in 1551 had engendered a response by the Ottomans. Their army attacked in the following year. Partially successful, that summer's campaign had been followed by another one in the year of Elizabeth's birth, 1554. While she was being baptized by a Hungarian prelate in Vienna, Ottoman diplomats

[121] This account of the situation in eastern Hungary follows the description given in László Makkai and András Mócsy, eds., *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to 1606*. Péter Szaffkó, et al., trans. (NY, 2001), pp. 622–632.

[122] Oberleitner, "Finanzen," p. 97, note 30. Loan dated 1 July, 1553.

were threatening the Transylvanians if they did not return to their previous allegiance to the Ottoman-friendly Queen Isabella. Fall, 1555, the sultan gave Ferdinand and his Hungarian allies a deadline: the Ottoman army would invade if they did not come quickly to terms. The Transylvanian diet, cowed by these threats, met in December, 1555 at Marosvásárhely and composed a message to Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand: "The enemy has warned us that our country will be put to fire and sword, and that we, our women, our children, our families will be exterminated," they wrote. "We therefore ask that you either provide assistance sufficient to let us prevail against Suleiman, or release us from our oath."[123]

The dowager queen and her teenage son Jan Sigismund (now known as "King John II," he had been elected by some Hungarian noblemen after his father's death in 1541 but not crowned,) returned and Ferdinand, seeing the writing on the wall, wrote the sultan telling him that the Habsburgs would return the territory to Isabella, who by now was Elizabeth's aunt's sister-in-law. The brief period of Habsburg rule over Transylvania had ended. Their troops and fortresses remained busy along the frontier between Ottoman Hungary, Transylvania, and the regions of Upper Hungary controlled by the Habsburgs. In this region, Dowager Queen Isabella's armies were able to push their control for a while as far as Kosiče before the tide briefly turned again. She died on 15 November, 1559 and her son began his rule in his own name.

For Elizabeth's parents, the freeing of the promised incomes drawn from the Silesian principalities of Opole and Racibórz by the departure of their Hungarian rival Dowager Queen Isabella meant that their financial situation improved, but it did not mean that the income was assured or consistent. In February, 1557, just a week before the birth of Elizabeth's brother Matthias in Vienna, emperor-elect Ferdinand wrote her father from Regensburg a long missive touching upon the difficulties the two were having raising the needed funds for the fighting and garrisoning in Hungary.[124] Ferdinand had sent curriers to the Habsburg representative in Lower Lusatia with instructions to raise money there. His counselor Fridrich von Redern, Vizedom for Silesia, was with him at that moment going over the incomes and possible

[123] Quoted in Makkai and Mócsy, *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, p. 631.
[124] Letter dated Regensburg, 17 February, 1557. Printed in Oberleitner, "Finanzen," pp. 192–193.

sources of credit available in the territory. Unfortunately, Ferdinand wrote, the expected tax incomes from Opole and Racibórz had already been spent.

If it were any consolation, he continued,

> …as soon as he [the Vizedom] returns home, as he plans to do in a few days, he wishes to hopefully raise ten, fifteen, up to twenty thousand *Taler* within fourteen days and then send them to you in Vienna in order to pay war expenses…we are currently in significant negotiations in Silesia about raising money, but at this time no specific amount can be reported or anticipated. We hope, however, to be able to bring in a substantial and beneficial amount.[125]

Ferdinand instructed Maximilian not to rely on this income alone. He wanted his son to consult with his advisors and council about any other ways they could think of to raise money, "to find…how and where other ways and means through which in the present haste and emergency money can be raised and collected and how to expedite this would be" and to report back to him.[126]

These were clearly tense and complicated times for Elizabeth's family in Vienna. Her mother's court alone required at least 20,000 guilders a year to support it, and as the family grew and the children needed their own small courts, the expenses would continue to rise.[127] The outcomes of the wars on the Hungarian front were unpredictable, as were the sources of credit and income available to the Habsburgs. As a way of coordinating the disposition and support for the 20–22,000 border troops stationed on the eastern front, Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand set up a five-person War Council (*Hofkriegsrat*) when the archduchess was two.[128] This council, together with the Exchequer and

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[125] *Ibid.*, p. 192: "*…sopaldt Er jeezo anhaimbs Khume, wie Er dann in wenig tagen von hie daselbsthin zuuerrukhen vorhabens ist, So welle Er Innerhalb vierczehen tagen von zehen, funffizehen biss in zwainezig Tausendt Taller verhoffenndlich aufbringen unnd Eur. Lieb geen Wienn zuuerlag des Khriegswesen vberschikhen…So steen wir auch sonnst in Schlesy vmb aufbringuung willen gelts in ansehlichen Handlunngen, aber auf dissmall ist noch darauf khain gewisse Raittung zumachen, oder Ichtes zu anticipieren. Wir verhoffen aber was statliches vnnd erspsiesslichs darauszubringen.*"

[126] *Ibid.*, p. 193: "*…wie etwo anndere Mittl vnnd weg…zufinden, dardurch in gegenwurttiger noth vnnd Eill ain gelt auf vnnd zusamen zubringen vnnd also dem Wesen zuhelfen ware…*"

[127] Records from 1 June, 1551 5o 1 June, 1552 list the cost of the queen's court to be 19,233 guilders. Thia amount would clearly have to increase as the family expanded. Oberleitner, "Finanzen," p. 229.

[128] Alfred Kohler, "Kaiser Karl V., Ferdinand I. und das Königreich Ungarn," pp. 3–12 in Fuchs, et al., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.* Here, p. 11. Thomas Fellner and Heinrich

the Privy Council (*Geheimer Rat*), would become the international bureaucratic instances which tied the Habsburgs' holdings in central Europe together, superseding to some extent and complementing in other regards the cameral and administrative organs specific to each of their holdings.[129] Elizabeth's father was named Ferdinand's deputy to the War Council and given command of the Hungarian front.[130]

A separate bureaucratic subunit was set up in 1558 to supervise those incomes from Silesia, supplementing the one for the kingdom of Bohemia as a whole and reflecting the importance of the money to be had from this territory. Similarly, a separate administration for the Upper Hungarian mining towns would be established under Elizabeth's father and located in Košice less than a decade later, reflecting the importance of this subsection of the Hungarian kingdom. The primary Hungarian financial administration sat in Bratislava, although some of the incomes from this kingdom were administered from Vienna.[131]

Even with these bureaucratic innovations and adjustments, the Hungarian kingdom, divided and destroyed as it was, was unable to support its defense and required substantial contributions of money and personnel from the rest of the Habsburgs' lands. Emperor Charles V's lack of interest in this front made it all the more important to Ferdinand and his family to get control of the emperorship with its claims and powers.

Step by step, Elizabeth's grandfather was doing just that. She probably was removed from the care of her wet nurses after she was one and, although ties between children and their nurses often continued throughout their lives, would have been watched over together with her sister and two older brothers by the *Camarera mayor*, María de Cardona, who was responsible for supervising the queen's female household.[132] It

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Kretschmayer, *Die österreichische Zentralverwaltung*, part I*: Von Maximilian I bis zur Vereinigung der österreichischen und böhmischen Hofkanzleien (1745)* (Vienna, 1907). The council was established 17 November, 1556. P. 238.

[129] Peter Rauscher, "Personalunion und Autonomie: Die Ausbildung der zentralen Verwaltung unter Ferdinand I." pp. 13–39 in Fuchs, et al., *Ferdinand I.*

[130] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 54.

[131] Rauscher, "Personalunion," pp. 30–31, with references.

[132] Elizabeth's contemporary Ferenc Nádasdy, the son of the Hungarian Palatine Tomás Nádasdy (in office 1554–1562), was about a year younger than she was. Ferenc would grow up moving between Vienna and his father's Hungarian estate before his mother Countess Orsolya Kanizsay settled in the city during her widowhood which began in 1562. Her deceased husband Tomás was one of the few Palatines recognized by the Habsburgs in this period. They generally preferred to utilize friendly clerics

can well be imagined that Elizabeth's sister Anna, who was five years Elizabeth's senior, took the little sister under her wing and helped Elizabeth to navigate the first steps of becoming an archduchess.

Before her grandfather Ferdinand took the final plunge and participated in streamlined imperial election and coronation ceremonies in early 1558, however, tragedy again struck the inner chambers of Queen María's court. When Elizabeth was a little over three years old and her baby brother Matthias a few days short of eight months, María gave birth to an unnamed, stillborn and premature baby son 20 October, 1557. This was the second sibling to die in a period of less than a year and a half. The first years of Elizabeth's life were marked by personal and financial instability and the religious disagreements between her father and grandfather added to an atmosphere of tension. With three surviving sons, María and Maximilian's dynastic footing seemed relatively secure, but the angry pope and increasing unease in parts of the Empire among the confirmed Catholic party concerning the prospects of a Lutheran-inclined successor on the imperial throne were unsettling.

The Habsburg counselor Cardinal Granvelle in the Low Countries wrote to the imperial advisor Dr. Georg Sigmund Seld from Brussels on 1 January, 1558 that the hero of the Habsburg Italian campaigns versus Pope Paul, the duke of Alba, had arrived in the Low Countries after a trip through the Empire that included his donning a disguise to avoid capture by troops of the Elector Palatine.[133] Alba reported, Granvelle wrote, "that at this moment the duke of Bavaria is not at all happy with the king of Bohemia. [Maximilian] The reason is (as everyone is talking about) religion, that the aforementioned king is perhaps a follower

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like Elizabeth's godfather Oláh to run the administration of the kingdom. Rauscher, *Ständen und Gläubigern*, pp. 61–62. Correspondence between Orsolya and Tomás reveals that Ferenc continued to breastfeed until he was at least one and half years old. To help with his digestion, doctors then prescribed a diet with boiled sour cherries. Péter, *Beloved*, pp. 75–76, with the point that nurses would often remain in contact with their charges after their period of service was completed. Letter from Countess Kanizsay to Nádasdy dated 29 March, 1557. For the various *amas de lactancia* of Elizabeth's cousins Isabel (born 1566) and Catalina (born 1567) at the Spanish court in the period 1566–1568, see Conti and Millán, *Monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 691.

[133] Seld was from an Augsburg family and one of Ferdinand's closest advisors. He had worked previously for the dukes of Bavaria and was considered a specialist on imperial politics as well as on the Habsburgs' hereditary lands in central Europe. Maximilian Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte und Berater Kaiser Maximilians II. (1564–1576)." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichischen Geschichtsforschung* 102 (1994). pp 296–315. Here, p. 299.

of the new religion."[134] Pope Paul, it must be remembered, was vociferously denying Ferdinand's right to the imperial crown, partly on the grounds that he was insufficiently supervising the religious orientation of his son, Elizabeth's 30 year-old father Maximilian. There were even rumors afloat that the pope was contemplating authorizing the transfer of the imperial title to the Valois rulers in France.[135]

In Vienna, the Moravian war preacher and crusader Bishop Antonín was being firmly instructed by Ferdinand to improve the moral conditions in the city and the diocese, particularly among the clergy. Ferdinand sternly laid out a set of regulations (*Polizeiordnung*) for the bishop's attention. Dated Prague, 22 January, 1558, these instructions attack "sin and blasphemy" and detail problems among the Viennese population such as drunkenness, excessively luxurious clothing, and sex outside of marriage. If things are not improved, Elizabeth's grandfather the emperor-designate admonished, God's "almightiness might be moved to even more disfavor and harsher punishment of our sins and depravity and those of our loyal subjects."[136]

These instructions moved the bishop to call an assembly of the clergy in his diocese 16 February, 1558. Threatening to suspend them from their offices if they did not conform, Bishop Antonín ordered the clerics to follow the Lenten fast regulations and use approved missals during their services.[137] It was not only Archduke Maximilian who was acting under the influence of reformed Christian ideas: the clerics as well as the general population in the city in which Elizabeth was growing up similarly seemed less than orthodox in the eyes of the authorities there.

A further example of the difficulties faced by the bishop of Vienna (and by extension by Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand) is revealed in correspondence between the bishop and the cathedral chapter in the

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[134] Goetz, Beiträge, p. 100. Letter Nr. 71: "…*das der hg. Von Baiern diser Zeit mit dem Kg. von Behaim nit gar wol zuefriden. Die ursach sei (wie man in der gmain diarvon red) von der der religion wegen, das hochgemelter Kg. villeicht mer der neuen religion anhengig…*" The relationship between Granvelle and Seld is discussed in detail in Friedrich Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre. Das Netzwerk Philipps II. im Heiligen Römischen Reich* (Vienna, 2002), pp. 61–65.

[135] Albrecht Luttenberger, *Kurfürsten, Kaiser und Reich: Politische Führung und Friedenssicherung unter Ferdinand I. und Maximilian II.* (Mainz, 1994), p. 81.

[136] DAW, Bischofsakten, Anton v Müglitz. Copy includes earlier decrees dated 1542 and 1552. "*sein Gottlich Alhmechtigkaidt zu noch mehrer Ungnad und scherpferer Haimbsuchung Unserer Sund und laster wider Uns und Unsere getreue Vnderthanen bewegtt werd. Mochte.*"

[137] Krexner and Loidl, *Wiens Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe*, p. 40.

days following Christmas, 1558. Bishop Antonín demanded to know why the relics of the Holy Innocents, the children two years old and younger reportedly slaughtered at King Herod's order in response to the news of Christ's birth (Matthew 2:16), had not been displayed on their festival (28 December) as had been customary. The relics' custodian excused himself explaining that he had placed the relics of Saint Stephen (a martyr and the cathedral's patron saint) on the high altar on his festival (26 December), but that last year boys had "banged on, made fun of, carried around, and even kicked" them, so it had been decided that he would not authorize the display of relics except on the cathedral's main altar (where presumably they could be better protected) on high holy days.[138] In many parts of the German-speaking lands, the Festival of the Holy Innocents was a day special to altar boys and orphans, whose patrons the Innocents were thought to be. These children would at times elect one of their own as bishop for the day, turning the world upside down. The practice extended often from the Festival of Saint Nicholas, three weeks earlier, when children would dress as the bishop and demand treats at threat of tricks.

Faced with such religious difficulties in his residence city and the pope's resistance notwithstanding, Ferdinand went ahead with his plans to have himself publicly declared Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. To placate the Protestant members of the Council of Electors (*Kurfürstenrat*) as well as the rest of the Imperial Assembly, Ferdinand chose not to be crowned by the pope, or even to wait for the pope's approval. The electors would declare him "Elected Roman Emperor" instead. The elector of Brandenburg placed the imperial crown on Ferdinand's head in a ceremony held in Frankfurt am Main's Saint

[138] "*Stossen, verspotten, Umbziehen, Und gar mit fuessen vertretten*" Undated letter from "Heylthumb Custos bei S. Steffan." Copies of further correspondence dated 28 December, 1558 in DAW, Bischofsakten, Bischof Anton I. The Feast of the Holy Innocents' prescribed reading from the Book of the Apocalypse apparently had little effect on the boys, pointing as it did to the dead children as among the saved: "These are they who are not defiled with women: for they are virgins." (Apocalypse 14:4). This was a festival of lamentation and hope, where the Gospel of Matthew in recounting the story of the babies' deaths (Matthew 2:18, one of the day's Gospel readings) recalls Rachel's tears for her children: "A voice was heard on high of lamentation, of mourning, and weeping, of Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted for them, because they are not" (Jeremias 31:15). On the "Child Bishop's" traditional activities, see E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, vol. 4, col. 1342, "Kinderbischofsspiel." (Berlin, 1931–32). By 1300, these customs had become associated with the Festival of Saint Nicholas, too, creating a special December of demanding children.

Bartholomew's church on 14 March. The six electors (Ferdinand was the seventh in his capacity as King of Bohemia) wanted to make sure that their roles in selecting an emperor were recognized and insisted on holding those parts of the ceremony in Frankfurt's imposing red church which involved them. These included their retirement to the electoral chapel for deliberations in advance of the declaration.[139]

The religious ceremonies were less important to the electors. The divisive Mass, for example, was left out: Ferdinand's longtime almoner Bishop Urban Textor of Ljubljana simply said a prayer. Outraged, Pope Paul refused to recognize the election. In that year's Good Friday liturgy he went so far as to omit the traditional prayer for the secular head of Christendom.[140] Undeterred, Ferdinand pressed ahead with his plans to push for a reopening of the church council in Trent. Ferdinand conceived of himself as part of the "loyal opposition" to the papacy, not as the pope's enemy. Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand had played a major role in the negotiation of religious peace in the Empire back in 1555 and the years preceding. He did not see this peace as the final say on the matter, nor did he see the Catholic-Protestant split as irreparable.[141]

Imperial granddaughter

Back in Vienna where Elizabeth was approaching her fourth birthday, preparations began to welcome her grandfather back to his residence city, now as emperor. Bishop Antonín continued to work to reform what he saw as the degraded morals of the city's population during Lent, addressing a supplication to the Lower Austrian government asking them to help intervene against people who were breaking the mandatory fast and eating meat. "I now see here in Vienna," he described, "in this holy time of fasting a remarkably unchristian situation…public, shameless, unrestrained, vexing wanton voracious

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[139] Luttenberger, *Friedenssicherung*, pp. 45–47.

[140] Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes From the Close of the Middle Ages* (1977), vol. 14, p. 348.

[141] Paula Sutter Fichtner, "The Disobedience of the Obedient: Ferdinand I and the Papacy, 1555–1564," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980), pp. 25–35.

meateating."[142] The archduchess Elizabeth was growing up sheltered from the "unchristian" circumstances outside of her mother's quarters in the—now imperial—castle. She also had unknowingly received a promotion in rank: instead of being granddaughter of one emperor, she was now granddaughter of two!

Elizabeth's first public appearance as the emperor's granddaughter, and perhaps her first at all, was on Friday, 15 April, 1558 in the happy, celebratory days following Easter. Her father Maximilian and her uncle Karl had been responsible for the organization of this imperial *entrée*. It would be the first of many such events in which the archduchess would participate during her lifetime. Through participation in such events, she would learn how to act and how to dress, and how to display herself to her family's subjects. Her father left her mother and the four older children, including Elizabeth, at the castle (her little brother Matthias, barely a year old, probably did not participate in these festivities) while he and his younger brother Archduke Karl made their way to the imperial entourage. This entourage approached the new imperial residence city by boat, rowed in galleys of the growing Danube River fleet the Habsburgs were trying to build up to help defend their downstream territories.[143]

The first sign of Elizabeth's grandfather's approach that day would have been the thunder of the gunnery salutes that met him: the repeated volleys from the cannons sited on the broad new bastions of the city shook the earth. Gunpowder was not spared. The guns positioned on and in the doubled bastion next to the little girl's *Hofburg* residence surely blasted out their welcome to the new emperor, just as those located elsewhere along the fortifications which surrounded the city. These new walls, like the emperor, owed their positions to the princes of the Empire. These princes helped pay for the walls with imperial

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[142] *"Nun siehe ich diser heiligen Fasten zeit Alhie Zu Wien ein merkhlich uncristlich Weßen,… Offentlichen, fraffenlichen, Uneingezogen argerlichen, muetWilligen frassenlichen* [sic] *Fleischessen…"* DAW Bishofsakten. Bischof Anton I Brus von Müglitz.

[143] The description of this celebration is drawn mainly from Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten*, vol. 8, p. 706*. See also Karl Vocelka, "Die Wiener Feste der frühen Neuzeit in waffenkundlicher Sicht," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 34 (1978), pp. 133–148 (here, pp. 136–137) and Josef Wünsch, "Der Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II. in Wien 1563," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Altertums-Vereines zu Wien* 46–47 (1914), pp. 9–34 (here, pp. 14–15, with references to contemporary pamphlets describing the events). Wünsch places the *entrée* of 1563 which will be discussed below in the contexts of earlier ones such as this one in 1558.

contributions.[144] Vienna and the more distant Hungarian fortresses of Györ, Komárno, and Szigetvár, similarly funded, were conceived of as the Empire's bulwarks against the Ottoman army, defense in depth along the Danube valley.[145] Although not yet completed in 1558, the new angled bastions and the arsenal along the river where the sleek galleys were to be built and maintained promised security to the inhabitants of the city as well as to the inhabitants of the Empire.

Waiting at the castle on the other side of the city, María, Elizabeth and the rest of the women of the court would not have been able to see the ceremonies outside of the walls as the provincial government officials, the local nobles, and the representatives of the city government welcomed Ferdinand. Ten ranks of the city militia flying the imperial standard were arrayed in honor of his arrival and his new position. Eight city councilors held the baldachin over the emperor as he rode past the throngs of onlookers into the city toward the cathedral. There, Bishop Antonín, representatives of the university, and members of the city's religious houses met him at the entrance to the cemetery which surrounded the church. Elizabeth would have heard and perhaps seen from a castle window what followed: cannons placed in the steeple of Saint Stephen's Cathedral were fired off, fireworks ignited, and the assembled brass band let out a trumpeting welcome.[146] The bells of the cathedral rang wildly as well, including the large new one which Bishop Urban had recently blessed.[147] The mining wealth of the Habsburgs' lands was on display in the metals and gunpowder used in these celebrations.[148] The polished breastplates of the emperor's mounted body guards, the Imperial Archers, similarly reflected the metallurgical wealth of the rulers.

Elizabeth, her mother María, sister and brothers saw Emperor Ferdinand as he rode into the courtyard in front of the elaborate gate to the castle. This gate proclaimed his rank and power. Queen

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[144] Rauscher, *Zwischen Ständen und Gläubigern*, p. 89 where it is pointed out that Ferdinand had been relatively successful in obtaining a large amount of financial support for the "Turks Assistance" (*Türkenhilfe*) from the Empire in the early 1550's.

[145] Oberleitner, "Finanzen," p. 108, note 64.

[146] On the important role of trumpets in imperial ceremonies of the period, see Robert Lindell, "Helden-Musik bei kaiserlichen Festen," pp. 15–19 in Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Wir sind Helden: Habsburgische Feste der Renaissance* (Vienna, 2005). Here, p. 15.

[147] Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, p. 314.

[148] The use of fireworks for such occasions in Europe has been traced back to Florence in the mid-fifteenth century. See Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 138.

María, surrounded by her children, welcomed her father-in-law to the *Hofburg* in Spanish, their common childhood tongue. The archduchess Anna, nine years old and trained in multiple languages, stepped forward to deliver a Spanish welcome of her own. Her grandfather complimented her on how well she spoke the language of her mother. As far as can be determined, the daily language of the women's court was Spanish. Queen María preferred it and apparently never mastered the other seven foreign languages she learned to some extent.[149] In the absence of an empress, María played the role of hostess of the Vienna castle.[150] Anna was in training to do the same some day somewhere. (Did she suspect that it would be as Queen of Spain?) Her little sister Elizabeth watched and learned the role of queen as well.

As Elizabeth's grandfather paused to praise her older sister, he may have been thinking of his beloved late wife, after whom the archduchess was named. Elizabeth's late grandmother Queen Anna never had the chance to experience the imperial triumph of her husband; at least his granddaughter Anna did. King Maximilian, standing by, could also think of his favorite sister, Duchess Anna of Bavaria, after whom the little archduchess also was named. Paula Sutter Fichtner wrote that Elizabeth's older sister Anna always held a special position in their father's affections. When she was eighteen, Fichtner reported, Maximilian confessed to someone "…that he loved her more than all his other children put together."[151]

The festivities continued for two more days and included ceremonies where various nobles, burghers, and men from the university congratulated the emperor and honored him with gifts such as gold cups, fat oxen, wine and oats. Ambassadors, including one from neighboring Venice and one, the duke of Arschot, representing Elizabeth's uncle Philip of Spain and England, offered the best wishes of their governments. The papal nuncio Antonio Agostino was also present, although his papal overlord was none too happy about the occasion being celebrated. Within two months Agostino would be recalled, beginning an extended period when the position of papal representative at the

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[149] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 19: [s]he remained deeply attached to her native tongue and dependent on those who spoke it…"

[150] Bucholtz is mistaken here when he refers to Queen Anna and her children. Ferdinand's wife Anna had been dead for many years and was buried in Prague. He kept a prayer book with her picture in it by him and never remarried.

[151] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 21.

imperial court was vacant in protest of the accession of Ferdinand to the imperial title.[152]

The Vienna castle's rooms were sumptuously decorated and hung with expensive tapestries illustrating stories such as the Labors of Hercules. On Saint Michael's Square outside the castle gardens, a fountain in the shape of woman was set up. She spewed red and white wine from her breasts, much to the enjoyment of the city's populace who took advantage of this imperial generosity in a part of town often known more for its vagabonds. Lyndal Roper has discussed the importance of images of female fertility such as this fountain in early modern Europe, using as one of her examples a woodcut by Melchior Lorck dated 1565 and titled "Allegory of Nature." In this woodcut, a nude woman's breasts spout milk while animals lie docilely at her feet. Roper translated the picture's caption, "Like a pregnant woman who bears children when her time has come, so also nature brings forth and nourishes everything at the right time."[153] The festivities with the wine fountain, the roast ox and the gift of oats also recalled those traditionally held in Frankfurt am Main in the city square following an imperial election.

The culmination of the celebrations came on the third day. Elizabeth, her mother and sister most likely had special seats in the castle windows or a box set up outside them to watch the activities in the large courtyard in front of the *Hofburg*. There, a massive wooden fortress had been constructed. Four groups of costumed riders, two emerging from the castle and two from the armory across the yard, fought a mock battle and the fortress was "besieged" (complete with artillery firing on the wooden construction and the defenders returning fire). Many of the participants were courtiers such as Adam von Dietrichstein from the imperial and royal courts, so, if their costumes allowed it, Elizabeth probably knew a number of the combatants quite well. At the end, the fortress went up in flames, fiery arrows were released from the steeple of the cathedral, and an impressive grand finale brought the festivities to their conclusion. It must have been quite a sight and experience for the little archduchess.

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[152] Bettina Scherbaum, *Bayern und der Papst: Politik und Kirche im Spiegel der Nuntiaturberichte 1550 bis 1600* (St. Ottilien, 2002), p. 138.

[153] Quoted in Lyndal Roper, *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven, CT, 2004), p. 149.

These types of festivities with their choreographed battles and pyrotechnics would be an important part of Elizabeth's childhood.[154] The tournaments and mock battles in which her father and uncles so liked to participate could bridge the religious gaps between their subjects (and within their family). Here they were all knightly warriors fighting some imaginary enemy. In her dissertation on late medieval and early modern tournaments and knightly spectacles in the duchy of Saxony, Kerstin Retemeyer discussed the close ties between the Dresden and Vienna courts in the period and pointed out how common the theme of storming a fake castle was in court entertainments. A celebration held in the Dresden market square on one of the last nights of Carnival, 1553, for example, was organized along these lines. The Saxon dukes Moritz and August led their knightly bands in the faked engagement, which recalled for Retemeyer popular troubadours' tales from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries where the castle stood for a maiden's heart.[155] Retemeyer's analysis also pointed to the integrative function of the festivities, bringing together those who participated or those, like Archduchess Elizabeth, who were spectators. Anxiety about the roles of mounted knights in an age of massive fortifications and gunpowder lay within these performances. Did the popularity of such displays among the common folk relate to the powerful display of that great leveler, the firearm?[156]

On some level these types of festivities could also serve to dissipate the anxiety many felt about the real enemy to the east and south, the Ottomans and their allies, or enemies closer to home: on the same day that Emperor Ferdinand I entered his capital in triumph, a noble feud in the Empire erupted in bloodshed as the bishop of Würzburg was murdered by a follower of a renegade aristocrat named Grumbach. Fear of noble revolt helps explain the desire of the imperial electors to stick together at the emperor's side.

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[154] Art historian Veronika Sandbichler has pointed out how these festivities combined three traditional forms (the *entrée*, tournament, and *divertissement*) into a coordinated system at the Habsburgs' court of the period: Sandbichler, "Habsburgische Feste in der Renaissance," pp. 11–13 in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*. Here, p. 11.

[155] Kerstin Retemeyer, *Von Turnier zur Parode: spätmittelalterliche Ritterspiele in Sachsen als theatrale Ereignisse* (Dissertation, Humboldt University, 1993). The title notwithstanding, the work concentrates on sixteenth-century examples. For the ties between Vienna and Dresden: p. 6. On the 1553 storming of the castle: pp. 41–43. On the troubadour antecedents: p. 105.

[156] Retemeyer, *Turnier zur Parode*, pp. 277–279, 298.

Everyone knew, too, that the Empire's religious settlement of 1555, which seemed to be holding for the time being, could collapse, particularly under the weight of external events such as the religious unrest among Christians in England or France, in the north along the Baltic, in the Habsburgs' holdings in the Low Countries, or up in the Swiss cantons. The rather unclear legal relationship of the one-time Teutonic Knights' holdings along the Baltic, the Habsburgs' Burgundian inheritance, and the Swiss and Savoyan sections of the Empire to that set of institutions as a whole and specifically to its ruler, Ferdinand I, exacerbated the problems and allowed religious dissent space to gain influence.

An event to the west was pregnant with potential problems: the Sunday following the end of the Vienna festivities saw the marriage of the young Queen of Scotland, Marie Stuart, to the French royal heir Francis in ceremonies at Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris. This princess was to become Archduchess Elizabeth's immediate predecessor as French queen. She held claims to the English throne as well, claims that some of her French relatives were anxious to push. The sickly queen of England, Elizabeth's aunt Mary I, was not going to make it through the year. Prospects for continued religious unrest in that kingdom seemed real.

The happy times following Easter and Emperor Ferdinand's *entrée* were short-lived. They did not even last as long as the liturgically-proscribed fifty days of praise and celebration, the *tempus paschale*. A few days after the *entrée* festivities ended, Martin de Guzman rode off to Rome to officially notify Pope Paul of Emperor Ferdinand's accession. A frosty welcome was expected. Ferdinand became ill and Elizabeth's father, none too healthy himself, had to take over some of the daily activities of governance in addition to his duties as military commander on the eastern front. The question of King Maximilian's religious beliefs hung in the air: if Ferdinand were to pass away, would his son be able to succeed him? Ferdinand had waited decades to become emperor. He wanted his heir to be elected King of the Romans soon in order to assure a more orderly transition than he had experienced. But he did not want a Lutheran on the throne.

The move to Wiener Neustadt

In Vienna, practical as well as personal considerations led to a change in residence for Archduchess Elizabeth and her family. By the end of

the year, they had moved to the nearby city of Wiener Neustadt (at that time simply known as "Neustadt," Newton). Elizabeth was to spend a good portion of her childhood there. The accommodations in Vienna had become too crowded. The housing and office space required by the imperial administration had increased as institutions such as the Imperial Vice Chancellor's office were moved to the city.

One example among many of the increase in staffing resulting from the new status of the ruler in Vienna was the increase in the number of adults singing in the court choir. Historian Ludwig von Köchel reports that between 1559–1576, the imperial reigns of Elizabeth's grandfather and father, the number of singers in the choir increased to a total of between 32 and 44, more than doubling the previous membership which had fluctuated between 12 and 24 voices in the period 1543–1558.[157] Organists, woodwind players, drummers, and others all had to be accommodated. An emperor's musical needs were greater than those of a mere king!

Elizabeth would grow up in an intensely musical environment, surrounded by ambitious, excellent musicians recruited from across the continent, particularly from the Low Countries. The peak in membership in the imperial and royal chapel musical staffs was reached in 1564 when Elizabeth's father followed his father on the imperial throne, combining his musicians with those who had been in Emperor Ferdinand's employ. The result was a magnificent musical establishment of over 80 people.[158] The two men were dedicated patrons of music. The halls and chapels of the Habsburg castles, whether in Vienna or in Wiener Neustadt, resounded in the latest vocal and instrumental styles.

Elizabeth would live in her new home town, Wiener Neustadt, for a good part of the next seven years. It was one of the traditional residence cities of the central European Habsburgs and had been for a long time. Their predecessors in governing the surrounding territory, the rulers of the Babenberg Dynasty, had chosen the location for a castle as far back as the late twelfth century. (Archeological evidence indicates Roman settlement and a Roman road to Vienna, too.) Built on defensible, marshy ground, the ducal and then archducal and now royal and imperial castles were located in such a way as to provide

[157] Köchel, *kaiserliche Hof- Musikkapelle*, p. 18.
[158] *Ibid*., p. 8.

defense on the southeastern reaches of the Habsburgs' lands. The city served as an administrative lynchpin between the Austrian archduchies and their neighboring duchy of Styria and as the seat of a small diocese which had been established not even a century before. The defensive importance of Wiener Neustadt was also related to its role defending the important trade routes through the area. With the increased importance of the nearby Kingdom of Hungary whose border was only a few miles away, Neustadt's strategic importance grew.

Elizabeth's grandparents Anna and Ferdinand and her father had resided here from time to time, so when Archduke Maximilian took up residence in the city, this time with his wife María and five children, memories probably accompanied the move. In 1541, when Elizabeth's father had been fourteen, Queen Anna had given birth to a baby daughter, Ursula, in Neustadt Castle. The baby died two years later.

Ferdinand had been investing heavily in the city's defenses since his arrival in central Europe. He ordered the construction of a new arsenal with an elaborate portal in the latest style (now often known as "Renaissance") across from the entrance to the castle outside of the city walls. It was completed in 1524. An arch of fourteen winged babies' faces, *putti*, decorated this entrance. In some ways it recalls the portal Elizabeth knew from the entrance to the *Hofburg* back in Vienna. Queen María had decided that she wanted to give birth to her latest child in Neustadt, so by November, 1558, when Elizabeth was a little over four years old, she and her family packed up and moved into new apartments in the castle across the moat from the imperial arsenal.[159]

The attention given to the city's defenses and the visits of the royal courts had brought with them construction workers, architects, and business. The iron trade was booming in the city. The money which flowed into Neustadt attracted artisans from as far away as Italy. In the

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[159] Queen María's desire to give birth in Wiener Neustadt was reported to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria by Helfenstein on 29 September, 1558. Goetz, *Beiträge*, p. 137. Much of what follows in the description of Wiener Neustadt is drawn from Gertrud Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt. Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur, Wirtschaft* (Vienna, 1978). For a reconstruction of what the castle in Wiener Neustadt looked like in the later fifteenth century, see the nineteenth-century lithograph based on an earlier woodcut and reproduced in Norbert Koppensteiner and Ingrid Riegler, eds., *Der Aufstieg eines Kaisers: Maximilian I. von seiner Geburt bis zur Alleinherrschaft 1459–1493* (Wiener Neustadt, 2000), p. 186: „Die Burg zu Wiener Neustadt zur Zeit Friedrichs III." This catalog also contains a photograph of an early eighteenth-century model of the city which provides some detailed impressions of its early-modern configuration: p. 171.

sixteenth century, "Renaissance"-style houses with arcaded courtyards and distinctive bay windows were being built, the cathedral received a new-style portico, (probably paid for by the rich widow Barbara Treitzsaurwein, whose husband had been a Habsburg court official earlier in the century,) and even the new gunpowder storage casements along the city walls were decorated.[160] These casements, finished the year before Elizabeth arrived in town, had their own impressive portal with her grandfather's coats of arms on it.[161] The city, which had been the location of a famous set of trials and executions of rebellious Viennese burghers early in Ferdinand's reign, had become an illustration of the Habsburgs' power.

When Queen María gave birth to another son on 12 October, 1558 in Wiener Neustadt, it was no surprise which name was chosen for him: Maximilian. The baby was not only named after his father, the designated heir to the thrones of Hungary and Bohemia, he was also named after his great-great grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I. While the debate raged over the imperial succession and the pope continued to grouse about the new emperor Ferdinand, the relations between Ferdinand and his son Maximilian were so tense that rumors began to be heard that Ferdinand was considering some way of avoiding turning over the imperial reins to his son. María and Maximilian were reminding everyone of Maximilian's imperial namesake through the device of choosing a name for their son.

Emperor Maximilian had been born in Wiener Neustadt Castle back in 1459. He grew up there with his sister, the later duchess of Bavaria, Kunigunde (1465–1520). It was where he was buried in 1519. His tomb was under the steps of the high altar in the castle chapel dedicated to Saint George. The Knights of the Order of Saint George, a chivalric order founded by Maximilian's father Emperor Frederick III were responsible for the memorial Masses held in Maximilian's memory. (By this time the order was almost extinct and it is unclear how conscientiously the few remaining knights fulfilled their duties.) Elizabeth would spend much of her childhood in her mother and father's semi-exiled court at this castle which held many reminders of the imperial heritage to which her parents felt themselves heirs.

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[160] Ingrid Riegler, "Wiener Neustadt zur Zeit Ferdinands I.," pp. 49–53 in Statutarstadt Wiener Neustadt, *Ferdinand I: Herrscher zwischen Blutgericht und Türkenkriegen* (Wiener Neustadt, 2003). Here p. 50.

[161] Gertrud Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1983), p. 8.

To enter the castle meant to pass directly under the imposing castle chapel. The dark entranceway into the courtyard was a kind of tunnel from the bridge over the moat and the exterior small entry courtyard. Once inside the castle yard, there was a large extent of space similar to the one in the Vienna castle little Elizabeth had recently left, this one probably still decorated with shiny gold-backgrounded frescoes. Both castles were closed squares with high towers on the corners. For the four-year-old archduchess, her new home would be familiar in form, although this castle had more visible chapels, including this massive main, burial one, making the religious side of life more architecturally prominent than it was in her birthplace, the *Hofburg*. Neustadt Castle's appearance and organization were largely the result of the undertakings of Emperor Frederick III about a century before when he chose this castle as his primary residence. He had expanded the palace wing and sponsored the rebuilding of an elaborate double-naved throne room.[162]

This castle had something else which set it off from the earlier one Elizabeth had known: a massive park adjacent. In Vienna there was a rather modest set of gardens laid out between the castle and the city, but here in Neustadt the gardens and park stretched far out into the distance. They had been laid out under Emperor Frederick and enjoyed by him and his wife Empress Eleonora, an avid hunter. Stocked with game, for centuries Neustadt Park would attract Habsburgs pursuing this actitivty, a favorite pastime of many of the family's members. For Elizabeth, the gardens and park provided a place to take in the air and to learn about plants and animals as she grew from a four-year-old to a ten-year-old.

The castle provided various lessons to the young girl. Its sculptures and windows taught her the history of her family. These lessons would be continued as she visited the convents and churches of the city. In the castle, across the yard from the main chapel were located two additional chapels, one over the other. The Habsburg duke Leopold III "the Just" (1351–1386) had started work on the castle and chapels as his place of burial, but he fell in the Battle of Sempach and his remains stayed nearer the Habsburgs' ancestral heartland at the abbey of Königsfelden. That double Franciscan house of nuns and friars

[162] Gertrud Gerhatl, „Wiener Neustadt als Residenz," pp. 104–131 in Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III*. Here, p. 116.

had been founded by his grandmother Queen Elisabeth of Carinthia. (She had died in 1313. Her daughter, the widowed queen of Hungary, Agnes, who was widowed at 20, supervised the church's completion.)[163] In Neustadt Castle the upper chapel was dedicated to Corpus Christi and decorated with very realistic sculptures of women and children in the entrance way. Carved into the capitals were smiling and serious faces, including one of a young child staring intensely from across a pillar next to a sculpture of a teenage boy. Like Elizabeth, this child seems to be taking in the events around her or him: what would she see when she went into the Corpus Christi Chapel?[164]

Wendelin Boeheim theorized that a stained glass window he found stored in another location in Wiener Neustadt was, based on its size and other characteristics, originally in this chapel. This window shows Duke Leopold's son Duke Ernst "the Iron" (died 1424) kneeling in full armor, praying with three of his sons, one of them most likely the future emperor Frederick.[165] The pedagogical value of such a window, showing María and Maximilian's children clear examples of proper pious behavior on the part of earlier Habsburg children, is not to be underestimated. If the children ventured down the spiral staircase into the unused burial chapel below Corpus Christi Chapel, there they would have found a red marble tablet in the keystone of the vaults reminding them that the chapel had been built in 1379 by Duke Leopold. This inscription surrounded a coat of arms showing Austria's striped shield covered with three crossed scepters ending in lilies.[166]

It is not known how often and in what capacity the royal children visited this chapel. Their religious upbringing was an essential, if not the essential, part of their education, so Anna, Rudolf, Ernst, Elizabeth

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[163] Wendelin Boeheim, "Die Gottesleichnams-Capelle in der Burg zu Wiener-Neustatt," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Alterthums-Vereines Wien* 9 (1865), pp. 10–122. Queen Elisabeth was the wife of King Albrecht I (r. 1298–1308) and the daughter of Elisabeth of Wittelsbach and her husband Meinhard II of Tyrol. Agnes lived from 1281–1364. She resided in Königsfelden with the Franciscan nuns during her widowhood but, like Archduchess Elizabeth later, never took religious vows.

[164] See the sketch of these sculptures in Boeheim, "Gottesleichnams-Capelle," fig. 7, p. 117. Figs 4, 5, and 6 show the other sculptured faces, pp. 116–117.

[165] This window is also shown and discussed in Koppenststeiner and Riegler, *Aufstieg eines Kaisers*, p. 172 (with bibliography). Wiener Neustadt would become the widow's seat of Duke Ernst's wife, the Piast duchess Cimburga of Massovia who raised her minor children there. See also Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III. Kaiserresidenz Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1966), pp. 318–319 and ill. I.

[166] Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III.*, fig. 9, p. 121.

and later Matthias, Maximilian, and the younger children, would be taken to Mass each day. This gave the household clerics and other members of their parents' chapel staffs large roles in the children's lives, and it gave the children ample and repeated opportunities to study the churches in which they worshipped.

The castle's Saint George Chapel was another such study opportunity. It was another place to learn about the history of the children's family as well as the proper roles for Habsburg archduchesses and archdukes. In addition to the various coats of arms which decorated the entrances and ceiling of the chapel, coats of arms which showed the variety of holdings ruled by Elizabeth's great-great-great grandfather Emperor Frederick a century before, that emperor's mysterious inscription "AEIOU" was found in a number of locations around the building. It is intriguing to speculate as to what meanings this famous set of letters Elizabeth was taught, or if she spent any time as a young girl speculating about possible solutions to the puzzle this list of vowels represented (and represents).

The main stained-glass window behind the high altar depicted Christ's baptism. An angel holds Christ's clothes. The Baptist was there, as was a picture of Saint Andrew, the patron of the Habsburg chivalric order of the Knights of the Golden Fleece. Emperor Maximilian and his father Emperor Frederick had both been knights of this order. Saint Andrew's Cross would fly on the standards the Habsburgs' explorers, conquerors, and settlers took with them into the New World. Elizabeth's brothers Rudolf and Ernst no doubt hoped one day to be included in the order and to be permitted to wear its insignia around their necks as their grandfathers, father, and uncle Ferdinand did. Even the important Bohemian courtier Vratislav von Pernšteýn who was often at court was a Knight of the Golden Fleece. He, like their uncle, had been inducted just a few years before, in 1555.

A new set of stained-glass windows had been commissioned in the Low Countries and installed in the chapel not long before Archduchess Elizabeth and her family moved to Neustadt. These windows with their Flemish inscriptions, whose style has been described by Ingrid Riegler as "mannerist," could serve as memory aids to the primary genealogical education of Elizabeth and her siblings living in Neustadt Castle.[167]

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[167] Riegler, "Wiener Neustadt," p. 50. For more on the chapel, see Karl Lind, "Die St. Georgskirche in der Ehemaligen Burg zu Wiener-Neustatt," *Berichte und Mitteilungen*

There, they saw depicted some of their ancestors, including their little brother's namesake, Emperor Maximilian (who, it must be recalled, was buried under the main altar in the chapel). Next to Maximilian in the stained glass were his two wives, Duchess Mary of Burgundy (who had died in 1482) and Bianca Maria Sforza (who died in 1510). Elizabeth's great-great grandmother Duchess Mary had been the rich heiress who brought the Low Countries into the Habsburgs' properties. This was the so-called "Burgundian Inheritance." Her children Margarete and Philip, Elizabeth's great-great aunt and great grandfather, similarly looked down on her and her sister and brothers in Saint George Chapel in the late 1550's and early 1560's.

If Elizabeth had studied her family's history—and there is every reason to believe that she had—she would have known that the little girl depicted above her here in Wiener Neustadt had lost her mother when she had been two and then had been sent to the French royal court the next year to be raised as the betrothed of the heir to the French throne. This marriage alliance with France was at least partially conceived as a way to settle differences arising between the Habsburgs and the Valois rulers of France concerning the disputed Burgundian Inheritance. Margarete had been renounced: her *fiancé* married a different duchess. In a double marriage alliance, the Habsburgs had then turned south to Iberia when Margarete married Prince Juan of Castile and Aragon and her brother Philip married Juan's sister Juana. Unluckily for Margarete but luckily for the Habsburg family, Juan died within months of the wedding, leaving the way open for Philip to claim his wife's Iberian throne. This was the start of Habsburg rule in Spain.

The Habsburgs' position in Spain led to Elizabeth's mother María (Juana and Philip's granddaughter) growing up there. The Spanish coat of arms in the chapel window reminded the onlookers of how long ties to the kingdoms of Iberia had marked the family's history. They no doubt reassured the Spanish nobles who served María and Maximilian's courts in this provincial city so close to the Hungarian border and so far from home.

A memorial on the chapel wall recalled the life and service of two members of the court nobility during Emperor Maximilian's

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des Alterthums-Vereines zu Wien 9 (1865), pp. 1–32. For a mid-nineteenth century engraving depicting the window, see Koppenststeiner and Riegler, *Aufstieg eines Kaisers*, p. 187.

reign, Barbara Rottal and her husband Sigmund von Dietrichstein. Dietrichstein had been one of Maximilian's counselors and was buried near his lord. One of his descendents, Adam von Dietrichstein, was the son of a woman who had been involved in raising Elizabeth's father Maximilian and his siblings, had probably met the young archduke as a child (they were the same age), and had joined his court.[168] Dietrichstein had accompanied Maximilian when he had traveled to Spain to meet María. He learned Spanish and went on to marry one of María's Spanish court ladies, Margarita de Cardona, daughter of a member of the Aragonese high nobility and Viceroy of Sardinia. Dietrichstein also accompanied Elizabeth's parents to Brussels for their important family conference in 1556.

This is another example of the melding of a Habsburg international nobility through the alliance of an Austrian family of rather modest Carinthian gentry roots with members of the Iberian aristocracy. The presence of the memorial in Saint George Chapel surely helped Adam von Dietrichstein's standing with the children and the family in Neustadt. Two years after the move from Vienna, Adam became María's Master of the Horse. When Elizabeth was eight and her older brothers were taken from the care of the women's household, Dietrichstein was placed in charge of Rudolf and Ernst's education.

The castle chapel had other lessons to teach Elizabeth and her sister and brothers. Suspended on chains between the pillars near the high altar were gilded cabinets containing the various holy relics which Emperor Frederick and Empress Eleonora had brought back from Rome after their marriage and coronation trip there in 1452. Not only did Wiener Neustadt bring back memories of earlier imperial triumphs in the Habsburg family's history, it also reminded visitors to Saint George Chapel of the family's long history of close relations with the papacy and its members' religious convictions when it came to practices such as relic veneration. Outside the castle, in Neustadt as in Vienna, in the Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian countrysides and across stretches of the Holy Roman Empire farther removed, Protestant preachers and their followers had been decrying such practices. Relics were being removed from churches, often in violent circumstances.

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[168] Friedrich Edelmayer, "Ehre, Geld, Karriere. Adam von Dietrichstein im Dienst Kaiser Maximilians II," in Edelmayer and Alfred Kohler, eds., *Kaiser Maximilian II. Kultur und Politik im 16. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1992), pp. 109–142.

Here, where Elizabeth was learning the tenets of her religion, the traditional alliance between her family and orthodox western Christianity was physically revealed.

The connections to nearby Hungary were also physically apparent in the castle chapel. There, a plaster statue of a king recalled the brief reign of King Matthias I of Hungary (r. 1458–1490) in this area. He had entered Wiener Neustadt in 1487 and made Vienna his residence shortly before he died. A later legend told that the clothes which were placed on this statue were those which the Hungarian king had worn when he had entered the city around seventy years before.[169] Elizabeth's younger brother Matthias was seven years old when the family left Wiener Neustadt to take up residence again in Vienna. Did memories of this earlier Matthias from Hungary affect his thinking on his role in the neighboring kingdom? (He would later become King of Hungary.)

In addition to the Corpus Christi chapel, the empty burial chapel, and Saint George Chapel, at least two other sacred spaces had been marked out in the castle where Elizabeth was playing and learning in her early childhood. Emperor Maximilian had built a little five-room hermitage there, complete with grotto-like decorations consisting of shells and stones embedded in its walls.[170] Conceived of as a religious space for contemplation and self-denial, its dark recesses were kept up by later generations of Habsburgs, many of whom, like Elizabeth's father Maximilian and her brother Maximilian, would go on to construct similar edifices. There is no reason to believe that Queen María, with her melancholy religiosity, or even Elizabeth herself and the other children, did not at times enter the hermit's seashell-encrusted little world. The second reported additional chapel in the castle dated from 1437. Located in the south wing, it was dedicated to the virgin martyr Saint Ursula.[171]

The type of history with which Archduchess Elizabeth was confronted when she left the chapels and hermitage of Neustadt Castle is difficult to determine. The castle yard was dominated by the façade of

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[169] Lind, "St. Georgskirche," p. 16.

[170] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), pp. 192–193. See also Ingrid Riedler, "Erinnerungen an Kaiser Maximilian I. in der Wiener Neustädter Nachwelt," pp. 143–149 in Koppenststeiner and Riegler, *Aufstieg eines Kaisers.* Here, pp. 147–148.

[171] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), p. 105.

Saint George Chapel and this façade was covered in a fascinating and peculiar set of sculptures. Some of these are relatively straightforward and echo images found elsewhere in the castle: a statue of Emperor Frederick III in armor, wearing a crown and holding a sword and a scepter, the inscription "AEIOU," coats of arms of various territories over which Frederick had ruled. Three of the statues in the upper reaches of the façade are similarly familiar and point to the saints veneration practices popular with the Habsburgs: a statue of Saint Mary holding the baby Jesus is flanked by statues of Saints Barbara and Catherine. But reaching down from these three women and the baby, or up from the emperor with his possessions and attributes, is an array of 107 coats of arms, elaborately carved and rich in detail.

Almost all of these coats of arms have been identified as reflecting personages or lineages mentioned in the fantastical work of historical chronicling by the fourteenth-century writer Leopold Stainreuter. Stainreuter, a member of the Order of Augustinian Hermits and rector of the Saint Agnes alter at the Himmelpforte women's cloister in Vienna, was closely connected to the Habsburg duke Albrecht III "with the Braid" (who died in 1395).[172]

In an article on Saint George Chapel, Karl Lind, with the help of a numbered chart, laid out what he took to be the specific heraldic devices displayed.[173] The result is an overview of an imagined 2,365 years of local history, from the year 810 after the Flood until 883 CE. The chronicle was very popular in the period following its composition and was often simply called the *Cronica patrie*. Even into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries its popularity continued, as reflected in the large number of extant manuscripts from these periods.[174] Although Humanist scholars of the fifteenth century harshly criticized this work, there is no way of knowing for sure what the young archduchess Elizabeth took from this heraldic array.[175] She probably spent at least some time in her seven years at the castle puzzling over the mysteries

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[172] Alphons Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs* (Graz, 1963), pp. 312–313.

[173] Lind, "St. Georgskirche," pp. 26–31.

[174] Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, pp. 312, 318. Lhotsky mentions over fifty known manuscript copies of the chronicle.

[175] Ottokar Lorenz, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1886), vol. 1: pp. 263–266. Lorenz calls the work "sehr merkwürdig" with "sonderbaren gelehrten Erfindungen…Die Abstammung der Österreicher ist in die wunderbarsten biblischen Fabeleien gekleidet…" p. 263.

of its chapel's exterior decoration. Evidence of similar, but painted, heraldic decoration inside the chapel has also been found.[176]

Many of the pagan rulers mentioned in the chronicle and depicted by coats of arms on the wall were women. For example, Susanna, (born in 824 after the Flood) the daughter of Terrement, is depicted as the wife of Abraham. Abraham (and apparently Susanna) had to leave his heathen homeland beyond the sea after a feud. Finding the land along the Danube River to his liking, he and his wife and their sons settled in Stockerau. This land had been called Judeisapta and had apparently been settled by Jews. Abraham called himself the "Margrave of Judeisapta" after his family's new homeland. Susanna's insignia, sculpted on the chapel façade, was a white tassel on a green shield. The helmet above carried a red knob.

The chronicle details how long the various members of the dynasty lived, whether the wife or the husband outlived the other, how many children they had, and so on. Many of the figures had Hungarian roots. For example, Susanna and Abraham's son Athaym married Mannaym, a Hungarian countess whose coat of arms is also chiseled in the castle yard's wall. The air of realism of the account is lent partly by reference to actual geographic locations such as Klosterneuburg, Lorch, or even Wiener Neustadt. Many of the personages mentioned, especially the women, were Jewish. By the reign of Montan, apparently, the entire ruling lineage of the area was Jewish, until Montan was forced by the Hungarians to become a pagan and married a pagan Hungarian duchess. This is the fiftieth coat of arms Lind describes.

This role for Jewish rulers in the chronicle and its sculptural depiction also lent some air of authenticity to the account. Since the early thirteenth century, Wiener Neustadt had been home to one of the region's largest Jewish communities. After the expulsion of Jews from Vienna the following century, it had become the most significant Jewish settlement in the area. Neustadt had an influential Talmud school.[177] A large portion of the city had been inhabited by Jews and a Jewish cemetery was located outside of the city walls. In 1496, however, after regaining control of the area from King Matthias I of Hungary, Elizabeth's great-great grandfather Emperor Maximilian had expelled the Jews from

[176] Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde*, p. 320.

[177] Gertrud Gerhartl, "Wiener Neustadt. Stadt mit eigenem Statut," in Friederike Goldmann, ed., *Die Städte Niederösterreichs* (Vienna, 1982). Part III, pp. 257–294. Here, pp. 283–284.

Neustadt. The synagogue was transformed into All Saints Church. Elizabeth could visit it: it was located just off the main city square, not far off the way between the castle and the cathedral.

Stainreuter's chronicle states that in 384 the long line of heathen and Jewish rulers ended. Now, the Romans came and installed the crypto-Christian Roman count Sand Amand as duke of the territory. Sand Amand created a new coat of arms for the territory: a white and green maiden carrying a crown on a black background. On the helmet one found a golden dragon between white angels' wings. If Elisabeth would have wanted to see this coat of arms, it would have been relatively easy to do so. It was the first on the left, just one row above the arms of Styria (two rows above the level of Emperor Frederick's head; number 58 in Lind's description.)

Sand Amand, the first Christian ruler of the territory, had a coat of arms with a black cross on a white disc on a black background. This symbol must have been familiar to Elizabeth and her siblings: was it not similar to the one employed by the Teutonic Knights in their settlement in the northeast corner of the city? The crusaders who helped defend the city and whose legendary history went back to battles in the Holy Land were here connected visually to the early Christian history of Austria. The helmet, like many of the helmets on the chapel façade, was decorated with a maiden, this one half pink. Sand Amand's wife Elena was a Christian countess from Rome. Her hereditary coat of arms was also a black cross on a white background. Her helmet carried a raven with a ring in its beak.

According to the chronicle, the couple converted many people to Christianity before Sand Amand (like the two women on top of the façade, Saints Catherine and Barbara) suffered a martyr's death. He had ruled for 53 years and was buried, with his wife, in Saint Peter's Church in Rome. The couple's three sons would divide the inherited lands. The core territory, from the Enns River to Neustadt, was ruled by Johann, who called his portion "Osterland" and gave it a coat of arms mixing the black cross on a white field of his parents with the golden dragon and angels' wings on the helmet from the earlier territorial symbol. Johann married a Roman countess named Anna and established Saint Stephen's Church in Vienna. Johann was buried in Klosterneuburg near that city. Anna's coat of arms showed a red rose on a white field, with a helmet bearing a gold knob and a blue lily.

And on and on the story and the sculptured monuments went. It ended in the year 833 (Lind's number 80) with the inheritance of the

territory known as Austria (*Österreich*) by the heiress Elisabeth who, shortly after she took control of Austria following the death of her two brothers, died, leaving the leader's place empty. She was buried in Saint Stephens Church in Vienna together with her siblings.

Some of the lessons taught by the monumental façade of Saint George Chapel include the important roles for marriages in establishing the power of rulers, the significance of connections to foreign lands (especially Hungary and to some extent Bohemia), and the close relationship between Christianity and rule in the territory for almost half a millennium. In fact, according to this account, the earliest Christian ruler died a martyr for his religion, a lesson undoubtedly not lost on the young archduchess Elisabeth, who would be introduced to martyrs' tales both by the dominant statues high on the chapel façade and in the popular saints' lives she would have in her reading collection.

One skill important for the tournaments and entertainments Elizabeth would watch, entertainments such as the one she had recently experienced in Vienna at the imperial *entrée* of her grandfather, was how to read the heraldic symbols, the helmet decorations, coats of arms, and colors, which, deciphered, allowed one to see beyond the masks and visors the participants wore. This skill would also enable one to read the funeral monuments and sculptures that provided a set of captions to her physical environment. These symbols included crosses and lilies, maidens and angels. These symbols would come up often in Archduchess Elizabeth's life.

Neustadt Castle had been readied for the residency of Queen María and King Maximilian and their growing family (by 1559, two daughters and four sons) partly by making space through removing some of the materials accumulated during the reigns and residencies of Emperors Frederick and Maximilian. Some of the imperial library which Frederick had built up and at least some pieces which his son had added (although Maximilian also took many things with him to his preferred residence of Innsbruck) were packed up and shipped to the new imperial capital, Vienna, where they were unpacked in rooms in the almost-abandoned Franciscan friary near the castle.[178] Due to

[178] Kühnel, *Hofburg* (1971), p. 42. The details of the moves from Wiener Neustadt to Innsbruck to Vienna (and Prague) are given in Theodor Gottlieb, *Büchersammlung Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Leipzig, 1900).

the space crunch in Vienna, increasingly the religious houses' rooms, stalls, cells, and cellars were being pressed into service as storage facilities and lodgings—and a library. Recall that the Augustinian friary on the other side of the *Hofburg* had similarly been pressed into service in order to meet the space needs of Elizabeth's parents' courts when they had resided in Vienna.

Like the new imperial residence, Vienna, the older one, Neustadt, was home to a variety of religious houses. These houses were used and had been used in various ways to assist the Habsburgs over the centuries. The Teutonic Knights' establishment on the northeast corner of the city walls has already been briefly mentioned, as has All Saints Church, the one-time synagogue, in the heart of the city. Next to Elizabeth's home, across the castle moat but connected by a bridge, was an abbey which also had been tied closely to the territorial rulers. Known, perhaps not surprisingly in this town, as "New Cloister" (*Neukloster*), this monastery had been built on the walls of the city as a Dominican friary, but Emperor Frederick had transferred its residents and replaced them with Cistercian monks.

When María and Maximilian's courts moved into Neustadt Castle a few Cistercians were struggling along here in this one-time friary dedicated to the Holy Trinity, singing their offices and trying to keep the relatively poorly-endowed establishment's head above water. This was none too easy given the massive demands of the crown on the financial resources of the religious houses, houses whose secular incomes Emperor Ferdinand considered to be parts of his cameral goods as hereditary ruler of the Austrian archduchy. High "contributions" had been levied with papal approval on the territory's convents, monasteries, friaries, canonries and other religious institutions over the course of the first half of the century since he had arrived from Spain as a way of paying the staggering costs of the ongoing wars in the east with the Ottomans, their allies and vassals.

On 1 January, 1558 Abbot Bartholomew von Grundenegg of New Cloister had reported the sale of some property owned by the house.[179] Five monks signed the sale notification. Less than two years later, abbey

[179] Heinrich Mayer, ed., *Die Urkunden des Neuklosters zu Wiener Neustadt* (Vienna, 1986) p. 109, Nr. 187: decision to sell Pöttsching property to Lorentz Sarschitz and his wife Anna.

records show that more property was sold.[180] Those church properties not sold in this period across the Austrian lands were often pawned or farmed out under highly unfavorable terms in order to meet the heavy tax assessments. Church ornaments and paraphernalia were often victims of the need for cash to pay the mercenaries in Hungary, the foundries for the artillery pieces, the mines for the raw materials, and the builders for the fortifications being constructed all across the southeastern border.[181] The financial underpinnings of traditional Christianity's institutions in this area were being weakened.

The New Cloister monks and their staff were supported in their struggles by the wider community of Austrian Cistercians. Relations with the abbey at Rein seem to have been particularly close. Rein was the area's oldest Cistercian house and the burial site of Duke Ernst "the Iron." (This was Emperor Frederick's father who was depicted in the Neustadt Corpus Christi Chapel window.) Rein Abbey was located over the mountains to the south in Styria. Abbot Bartholemew, who led the Neustadt house when Elizabeth moved to the city, had entered the order at Rein. He would move on to become abbot there in 1559.[182] He was replaced in New Cloister by the former prior of Rein, Johann Helmstorffer, who would be in office for the rest of the time that María and Maximilian's family resided in Wiener Neustadt. The abbots of two other important and nearby Cistercian abbeys, Lilienfeld and Heiligenkreuz, witnessed Helmstorffer's election by the five resident monks.[183] Lilienfeld Abbey owned a sizable house on the Wiener Neustadt cathedral square and had various ties to the city. Emperor Frederick's mother Duchess Cimburgis was buried in Field of Lilies (Lilienfeld) Abbey.

Neustadt's New Cloister was full of references to and evidence of Empress Eleonora (r. 1452–1468), her husband Emperor Frederick, and their family. The abbey church choir served as the burial place

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[180] Mayer, *Urkunden*, Nr. 188: Abbot Johann Helmstorffer reports sale of two measures of land to Leonhardt Schublin and his wife Margarethe. Certificate dated 1 November, 1560.

[181] For the decision to order that the chalices in the churches in the Austrian archduchies be turned in to help pay for the new Vienna fortifications, see Oberleitner, "Finanzen," p. 108.

[182] Mayer, *Urkunden*, p. 109, Nr. 186: election report dated 26 May, 1557 by Martin Durlacher, Abbot of Rein.

[183] Mayer, *Urkunden*, p. 110, Nr. 189: election report dated 19 June, 1561, at Rein by Bartholomew von Grundenegg, Abbot of Rein.

of the empress and three of the imperial couple's children, whose graves were marked by simple red marble stones. These children, two boys and a girl, had all died before their second birthdays. They were Emperor Maximilian I's siblings, but he would have only been able to remember his little brother Johannes who had been born when he was seven. Christoph had been born the year before him, and Helene the year following.

Empress Eleonora herself, Emperor Maximilian I's mother and the last Holy Roman Empress to be crowned by a pope in Rome, was memorialized in a large red marble monument by the well-known sculptor from the Low Countries, Niklas Gerhaert van Leyden.[184] The monument showed the Portuguese princess in all her glory: wearing a huge imperial crown, she holds a scepter in her left hand and across her left chest and shoulder. In her right hand she holds the imperial orb. Sumptuous robes bordered in what appear to be pearls and jewels trail down in abundance to the floor. Empress Eleonora stands with flowing hair reaching well down her back under a fringed and embroidered baldachin whose draperies are pulled aside to reveal the contours of her body (and the sculptor's expertise in chiseling out the myriad folds).[185] The double-headed imperial eagle crowns one corner of the monument.

This is the image of female rule with which the women and girls in the Wiener Neustadt court would have been confronted. The half-

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[184] Van Leyden died in 1473 and is also buried in Wiener Neustadt. On his grave monument for the empress, see August Richard Maier, *Niclaus Gerhaert von Leiden* (Strassburg, 1910), pp. 63–71.

[185] For black and white photographs of the monument, see Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), ill. 10. See also ill. 36 in Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, *Friedrich III.* and ill. 180 in Dworschak and Kühnel, *Gotik in Niederösterreich.* During Archduchess Elizabeth's life, there were discussions about how to depict this empress from the previous century. The friend of King Ferdinand's children, Hieronymous Beck, had a copy of a portrait of her in his important miniature collection, and the cast statue of the empress created to decorate Emperor Maximilian's tomb in Innsbruck was finally scrapped around 1560. Günther Heinz, "Das Porträtbuch des Hieronymous Beck von Leopoldsdorf," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 71 (1975), pp. 165–310. For the two miniatures in Beck's collection showing the empress, see pp. 190–191, Nr. 197 and 198 (descriptions on pp. 240, 242). Empress Eleonora's prayer book ended up in the possession of Elizabeth's aunts in their convent in Hall. See Koppensteiner and Riegler, *Aufstieg eines Kaisers*, p. 176. The illustration shows a page of the prayer book depicting the crown-wearing Empress Eleonora and her little son Maximilian praying to the Virgin Mary. An early sixteenth-century copy of a portrait of the empress wearing her huge crown can be found on p. 174. See also ill. 21 in Niederösterreichischen Landesregierung, *Friedrich III.*

Portuguese Queen María would have been presented with an image of the Portuguese Holy Roman Empress Eleonora (in office 1452–1467) who had occupied the same imperial position as María's mother, Empress Isabel (in office, 1526–1539). These two empresses, one buried in Iberia and one in Wiener Neustadt, occupied a position to which Queen María aspired (and which she would attain). They also represented the important political position of the Portuguese kingdom as its representatives supported the growth of their overseas empire to in some ways rival the older Empire on the continent.[186] The policy of marrying between the Portuguese ruling House of Aviz and the Habsburgs would lead within a couple of decades to the Habsburg inheritance of that kingdom and empire. One of María's children, Albrecht, was born in Wiener Neustadt in 1559 and would go on to become Viceroy of Portugal from 1583–1595.

On the south wall of New Cloister Abbey Church in Wiener Neustadt was located, as in the castle chapel, a burial monument to one of the courtiers associated with the imperial courts in Wiener Neustadt. Here, one of Empress Eleonora's court ladies, the Portuguese noblewoman Beatrix de Lopi, was memorialized.[187] Again, the ladies-in-waiting who followed Queen María and her daughters across the moat's bridge into the abbey church would probably have been reassured to see this physical mention of their counterpart from an earlier era. María's ladies

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[186] In her discussion of some pieces of Empress Eleonora's German-language correspondence, Katherine Walsh pointed out how Eleonora's gravestone in Wiener Neustadt and some of the depictions of her in her prayerbook also recall the "Schöne Madonna" tradition of depictions of the Virgin Mary: "Deutschsprachigen Korrespondenz der Kaiserin Leonora von Portugal," pp. 399–445 in Paul-Joachim Heinig, ed., *Kaiser Friedrich III. (1446–1493) in seiner Zeit* (Vienna, 1993). Here, p. 429. On the very positive view of this empress in the Holy Roman Empire and the ceremonies mourning her death in 1467 which were held in Augsburg and Nuremberg shortly thereafter, see Franz Fuchs, "Exequien für die Kaiserin Eleonore in Augsburg und Nürnberg," pp. 447–466. Fuchs mentions that her memory was still alive in Augsburg well into the sixteenth century: p. 451. It may be possible that Elizabeth and the rest of the court at Wiener Neustadt attended services in which gold and silver embroidered vestments depicting Saints George and Christopher were worn. These vestments were reported in a 1616/1618 inventory to have been sewn by the empress herself: "*so Kaiser Fridrichs gemahl Königin Leonora aus Portugal mit aigner hand gemacht.*" Inventory in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 20 (1899), p. XXIX, Nr. 17361, 5.

[187] Lopi was the only Portuguese lady-in-waiting who accompanied Empress Eleonora to central Europe. She died in 1453, just a year after her arrival in Austria. See Walsch, "Korrespondenz," p. 429. See also Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1983), p. 42 and Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III.*, p. 356 (Cat. Nr. 150).

were in some ways betting that their queen would attain the status that the earlier empress from Iberia buried in the choir in front of them had reached. Then they could attain the status of Beatrix de Lopi. Could they imagine their María looking like Empress Eleonora?

In addition to the monument to the Portuguese noblewoman Lopi, New Cloister Church contained a prominently-placed burial monument to the influential writer from Iberia Cristóbal de Castillejo. Castillejo had worked at the court of King Ferdinand for twenty-five years, serving as his Spanish secretary and writing many of the various works of poetry and prose which would make his reputation as one of the leading Spanish authors of his time. In 1532, Emperor Charles had raised him and his family to the knighthood and had improved their coat of arms to the one chiseled into the gravestone here in Neustadt's New Cloister church. They showed a castle, lilies, and three Austrian nightingales.[188]

Castillejo had died in 1550. From the lower nobility in Castile, he had worked as a page at the young Ferdinand's court during part of the fifteen years the prince lived in Spain. Castillejo later was called to Vienna to assist in the translation of Spanish and Latin documents in the royal chancellery. He never learned German. The secretary had been granted the Lower Austrian house of canons at Ardagger in 1536 but does not seem to have given much attention to the direction of affairs at the religious community dedicated to Saint Margaret there. When he died, Castillejo left much of his not insignificant estate to the Cistercian abbey of Santa María de Valdeiglesias in Spain, the house where he had entered that religious order.[189] In some way, New Cloister in Wiener Neustadt was not just connected to its sister Cistercian abbeys in Rein, Lilienfeld and Heiligenkreuz: it was also tied in a community of prayer to the Abbey of Saint Mary far away in Iberia. Monks there prayed for the soul of the departed brother buried in Neustadt abbey church.

Well-versed in Castilian literature and culture, Castillejo had served as a conduit between Iberia and central Europe not just on this religious level but also on an intellectual one. Although most of Castillejo's works remained unpublished at his death in 1550, his dialogue about

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[188] Clara Leonora Nicolay, *The Life and Works of Cristóbal de Castillejo. The Last of the Nationalists in Castilian Poetry* (Philadelphia, 1910), pp. 22–23.

[189] María Dolores Beccaría Lago, *Vida y obra de Cristóbal de Castillejo* (Madrid, 1997), pp. 520–524.

women, published originally in Venice around 1544, had been reissued seven times in the years following. His *Sermón de amores* appeared originally in 1542 and his *Diálogo entre el autor y su pluma* in 1550.[190]

On the more mundane level of patronage Castillejo also had effects. Two of his nephews, Antonio and Juan, received positions at or through Ferdinand's court. Antonio held the oration at Elizabeth's grandmother Queen Anna's funeral in Prague when Ferdinand's wife died in 1547. He was nominated to the important bishopric of Trieste in the southern reaches of the Habsburgs' lands shortly thereafter. Antonio served in Trieste for a few years before moving on to the archbishop's throne in Cagliari, the capital of Habsburg-ruled Sardinia. Juan was Cristóbal's assistant in the Spanish chancellery for a number of years and a counselor to King Ferdinand.[191]

The literary scholar Uta Maley wrote that during Castillejo's time in central Europe, Vienna had become a "crystallization point" for Spanish literary production.[192] Thanks in part to this author and clerk whose remains rest in Wiener Neustadt, the intellectual world in which Queen María lived and in which the archduchesses Elizabeth and Anna grew up was significantly influenced by Iberian ideas and fashions.

The physical environment of Neustadt (continued)

Two chapels had been added to the modest ex-friary church at New Cloister in Neustadt during the period in which the city was being raised into a royal and then imperial residence. One was dedicated to Saint Barbara and the other to the Holy Cross. The reverence to Saint Barbara shown here through the establishment of a chapel in her

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[190] Beccaria Lago, *Vida y obra*, pp. 537–538. His complete works were first published in 1573, while Elizabeth was Queen Consort of France, and would be published two more times, in 1577 and 1582, during her lifetime.

[191] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 226–227; Beccaria Lago, *Vida y obra*, pp. 39–45.

[192] Uta Maley, "Cristóbal de Castillejos 'Respuesta del autor á un caballero que le preguntó qué era la causa de hallarse tan bien en Viena' und Wolfgang Schmeltzls 'Lobspruch der Stadt Wien'—ein Vergleich," pp. 97–108 in Wolfram Krömer, ed., *Spanien und Österreich in der Renaissance* (Innsbruck, 1989). Here, p. 98. On the general intellectual contexts of Spain and the Empire at the time, see also pp. 109–124: Feliciano Pérez Varas, "Cristóbal de Castillejo: ein spanischer Dichter in der Wiener Renaissance."

honor, a chapel which, according to an inscription on its outer wall, was started by Emperor Frederick's younger brother Albrecht in 1453 (who reportedly laid the cornerstone personally), reinforces that saint's role in Wiener Neustadt.[193] (Remember her statue graces the façade of the castle chapel, where she stands next to Mary and the Child, Her attendant—or lady-in-waiting?—together with Saint Catherine.)

The famous "Wiener Neustadt Altar," an elaborate and very large wooden winged altarpiece which was located in the abbey church, has been declared one of the masterpieces of "Gothic" sculpture.[194] Dated 1444 and linked, like so much in the city, to Emperor Frederick, this polychrome work served as an altar and reliquary. As was the case with this type of altarpiece in general, different scenes were available to the viewer on different days. This depended on how the wings were arranged, whether they were open or not. The women of the court would have seen one view of the altar's decorations on weekdays, another on Sundays and most holidays, and another on special, particularly Marian, holidays. On a normal day, the wings would have been closed and some rather somber images of mostly female saints visible. There were also depictions of various holy kings of Hungary and the young Saint Vitus. The depiction on the lowest right-hand side was of the Innocents. It depicted two dead, bloody babies on the ground and a third in the process of being stabbed.[195] On Sundays and holidays, the wings were half opened, revealing a stunning panoply of depictions of male saints with their names and attributes. This served as a kind of picture book illustrating many of the saints with which Elizabeth would have been familiar (or about which the altarpiece may have taught her).

The primary decoration, reserved for observation on special days, was dedicated to the veneration of Saint Mary. She was depicted repeatedly in all her glory, sitting in state in the middle of the altarpiece between Saints Catherine and Barbara as the Queen of Heaven, her high crown gilded and shining and her son seated on her lap. Above her was an impressive depiction of her coronation. Two crowned and bearded men placed a crown on Saint Mary's head. The Cistercians had long

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[193] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1983), p. 42.

[194] The altarpiece is now in Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. It was renovated in a long-term project starting in 1986. See Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, *Der Wiener Neustädter Altar und der Friedrichs-Meister* (Vienna, 2000), especially Ingrid Flor, "Ikonographische Überlegungen zu den Malereien des Wiener Neustädter Retables zu St. Stephen in Wien," pp. 7–8, 21–32.

[195] Bundesdenkmalamt Wien, *Wiener Neustädter Altar,* p. 17 and ill. 35.

celebrated Mary and her virtues and here they continued Saint Bernard of Clairvaux's tradition of veneration of the Virgin. Like the red marble gravestone of the empress in the choir, this altar presented the women and girls at court with an impressive image of female rule and encouraged them to think of Mary as a queen. One day Archduchess Elizabeth would be crowned, consecrated, and enthroned: did she, as a queen's daughter, fantasize about the possibility? It can be imagined that her mother María was a bit perturbed when contemplating these images. She was a queen in name and title, but had not yet experienced a coronation.

To celebrate his election as King of the Romans (and imperial heir-presumptive) in 1440, the future emperor Frederick had ordered the erection of a sculptural grouping outside of New Cloister. A scroll displays his ubiquitous "AEIOU" symbol under the coats of arms of his primary territorial holdings, Austria and Styria. Above them is the royal eagle, proclaiming his position in the imperial succession. Over an arch is another depiction of the Coronation of Saint Mary. To one side of the central figure of the Virgin, who appears to be kneeling with folded hands, is a man holding a scepter in his right hand. To the other side of the Virgin sits a man holding an orb in his left hand. With their free hands, the two bearded, seated figures are placing a crown on Mary's head. The parallels with the funeral monument to Eleonora inside the abbey church are clear: the crown, scepter and orb which are so featured in the latter are here apparent. The parallels with the sculpture on the winged altarpiece are also clear.

If Elizabeth had ventured outside of the city's walls, she would have been able to see the over 60-foot tall sculpted stone monument known as the "stone cross" (*stainen creuz*) which had been built in the late fourteenth century at the bequest of an influential Neustadt burgher. This famous roadside column (she probably passed it each time she and her family traveled to or from Vienna) was located near the city's execution site and therefore helped express the political and legal power of the independent city government. It was richly decorated with statues of saints such as Margaret, Katherine, and the archangel Michael, images of the Passion, coats of arms and, reigning over the entire impressive array, was (another) depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin.[196]

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[196] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1983), pp. 60–61. See also Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), p. 78.

The political education of Archduchess Elizabeth (and her older sister Anna) took place not just in the castle's women's rooms. It also took place when they went to the castle chapels, to the abbey next door, or traveled between their various residences. The education would continue when they visited the cathedral in the city. Probably it would even often be supervised by the bishop who occupied the throne there.

The Cathedral of the Assumption was located diagonally across the rectangle-shaped city from Neustadt Castle.[197] It had been built near the previous Babenberg castle in the northwest corner of the medieval town. After papal approval was received by Emperor Frederick in 1469 to erect a diocese centered on his residence, this collegiate church was elevated to the status of a cathedral and endowed with a small diocese carved out of the archbishop of Salzburg's holdings. The one-time Babenberg castle became the episcopal residence with its chapel dedicated to Saint Catherine. A cemetery surrounded the cathedral and a charnel house with a chapel dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel was located in this cemetery. In honor of the cathedral's patron saint, a four-week long market and fair was held each year around the Feast of the Assumption on August 15.[198] Located on the city's main square, this special event would have underlined the special role of Saint Mary to the little Archduchess Elizabeth, probably more than any sermon in the cathedral could have.

Even before the church became the seat of a bishop, it had been particularly honored by the Habsburgs. In 1422, Emperor Frederick's father Duke Ernst and the emperor's Polish mother Duchess Cimburgis had ordered the construction of a crypt in front of the high altar for the remains of their deceased daughter Alexandra and perhaps her brothers Rudolf and Leopold, all of whom died young. Eventually, this sad crypt would hold the remains of five of the emperor's siblings, all of whom died as children. Frederick had been five when his sister Alexandra had died, twelve when his sister Anna had died, and seventeen when his brother Ernst passed away. He probably remembered the deaths of the other two as well. Later, as part of his project to elevate and honor this church, Frederick had an elaborate red marble

[197] Much of the following is taken from Gertrud Gerhartl, *Der Dom zu Wiener Neustadt, 1279–1979* (Vienna, 1979).
[198] Gerhartl, "Wiener Neustadt," p. 272.

raised funerary monument erected over the crypt. It stood at the top of the stairs from the nave to the choir.[199] When Archduchess Elizabeth was a little girl growing up in Wiener Neustadt, she visited its cathedral. This cathedral was marked by the memory of deceased children, much like New Cloister Church next to the castle where she lived. Here in Assumption Cathedral, Elizabeth and her sister and brothers were confronted with memories of dead namesakes: did Anna, Rudolf and Ernst note this fact as they prayed here in the years around 1560?

In addition to the imposing grave in front of the main altar, Emperor Frederick had ordered other improvements and decorations for the cathedral. These included numerous statues such as an Annunciation depiction which stood in the nave and a large fresco of Saint Christopher, a saint whose legend could have had particular appeal to children, relating as it did how the giant helped a child. Frederick's famous "AEIOU" as well as the numerous coats of arms of his holdings of which he was so fond also embellished the interior of the cathedral. His son Maximilian had donated a new high altar to the cathedral in his hometown, although generally speaking Maximilian devoted less attention to Wiener Neustadt than his father had. The city had suffered during the fighting around the approach of King Matthias late in the century and again in the 1520's as Ottoman troops were in the vicinity.

As was the case with almost all of the bishoprics in the Habsburgs' hereditary lands in central Europe, the Habsburgs held the right to nominate clerics to be bishops in Wiener Neustadt. Only the cathedral chapters in Olomouc and Wrocław held the right of election.[200] The rather modest endowment of the new see of Neustadt, together with its location away from the center of court activities up in Vienna, meant that it was difficult to attract ambitious clergy to take up the position as bishop. This made it in many ways similar to Vienna. When Elizabeth lived in María's court at Neustadt, the bishop's seat was sometimes vacant, or sometimes in the rather strange position of having a man occupying it who had been nominated by King (and later Emperor)

[199] Gerhartl, *Dom zu Wiener Neustadt*, p. 21, with 1772 illustration of the monument and crypt. See also Harry Kühnel, "Grabdenkmäler in Niederösterreich," pp. 185–193 in Dworschak and Kühnel, *Gotik in Niederösterreich*. Here, p. 191 and ill. 178. Kühnel ties the stonemason work on this gravestone to the array of coats of arms on the facade of Saint George Chapel in the castle courtyard.

[200] Hubert Jedin, "Die Krone Böhmen und die Breslauer Bischofswahlen 1468–1732," *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 4 (1939), pp. 165–208. Here, p. 165.

Ferdinand and therefore had been given the legal authority over the temporal holdings of the diocese, but who had not been given papal confirmation and was not officially the religious head of it. In some ways this situation was similar to the one faced by Emperor Ferdinand from March, 1558 until December, 1559: he had been elected and confirmed by the imperial electors but not confirmed by the pope.

The provost of the Danube Valley canonry at Dürnstein and displaced canon from Székesfehérvár in Hungary, Franz Abstemius, had taken over the Wiener Neustadt diocese in 1553, but it was not until almost two years later that the nuncio Zaccaria Delfino, during a period of papal vacancy, had passed on papal confirmation to King Ferdinand when they met in Augsburg in 1555.[201] Abstemius was from Tolna in central Hungary. Like a number of his male relatives, he had studied at the University of Vienna, a popular seat of higher learning for men from that kingdom (particularly Transylvania).[202] He would be followed as Bishop of Wiener Neustadt briefly by the abbot of the Cistercian abbey at Rein, Martin Durlacher, who had been one of Emperor Ferdinand's chaplains back in 1554 when Elizabeth was born. Durlacher died in 1558 without being confirmed by the pope.[203]

For a couple of years while Elizabeth was six to eight years old, the bishop's miter at Wiener Neustadt was worn by the children's tutor, Caspar von Logau. Logau had served previously as a royal chaplain and had tutored Elizabeth's uncle Karl as well. He is listed again as a chaplain at the same time that he was serving as Bishop of Wiener Neustadt, showing the close relationship between court service and appointments such as this one.[204]

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[201] Gerhard Winner, *Das Diözesanarchiv St. Pölten*, (St. Pölten, 1962), p. 267: Document dated Vienna. 19 November, 1553; p. 269: document dated Augsburg, 5 April, 1555. The Venetian Delfino had two terms in office as papal representative to the royal and then imperial courts, 1554–1556 and again in 1560–1565. He would be rewarded richly with Austrian benefices for his services by both Elizabeth's father and her uncle Karl. Gino Benzoni, "Zaccaria Dolfin," *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani*, (Rome, 1991), vol. 40, pp. 576–588. Here, p. 586.

[202] Karl Schrauf, ed., *Die Matrikel der ungarischen Nation an der Wiener Universität 1453–1630* (Vienna, 1902), p. 190: Franciscus Abstemius is listed in the Hungarian nation's registration list for 1529.

[203] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), p. 237. Wolfsgruber lists Durlacher as a court chaplain in 1554: *K.u.K. Hofburgkapelle*, p. 610.

[204] Wolfsgruber, *K.u.K. Hofburgkapelle*: Logau is listed in 1546 and again in 1560. The first bishop of Wiener Neustadt, Peter Engelbrecht (in office 1476–1491), had been the tutor of the later emperor Maximilian I, for example. Niederösterreichische Landesregierung, *Friedrich III.*, p. 305.

Bishop Caspar was born in Nysa, Silesia and had been raised at the Habsburg court alongside Elizabeth's father Maximilian and uncle Ferdinand. He had studied at Leipzig, Padua and Bologna and became a (non-resident) canon of the Wrocław cathedral chapter in 1542.[205] (Wrocław was the capital of Silesia.) His career reveals again the relationship between Silesia and the Habsburg courts at which Elizabeth grew up. The famous church historian Hubert Jedin described Logau as a "worldly, pliant court bishop."[206] Logau's stay in office in Neustadt was brief. Under pressure from his patron Emperor Ferdinand, the cathedral chapter of Wrocław elected Logau bishop in February, 1562, when Elizabeth was going on eight years of age. He took possession of the bishopric in May, but, to the disappointment of the cathedral chapter members who had elected him, Bishop Caspar gave precedence to court affairs and left soon thereafter to participate in the coronation of Elizabeth's parents as queen and king of Bohemia.

His general situation in the Wrocław diocese was a complicated one for a number of reasons. One of these related to the strained relations between the Habsburgs as secular rulers in Silesia and the Archbishops of Gniezno in Poland, who saw their suffragan bishop Logau as insufficiently attentive to affairs of the church province as opposed to the secular one: Logau served not only as bishop but also as the Habsburgs' primary administrative official or governor.[207] María and Maximilian drew some of their incomes from Silesia. This helps explain the better financial situation faced by Elizabeth's parents at this time. Caspar von Logau would serve as Bishop of Wrocław until his death in June, 1574.

In Wiener Neustadt the bishop's throne was now vacant for a year and a half. Shortly after she turned seven, a new bishop took over at Assumption Cathedral. Christian Napponäus came from the other end of the Habsburgs' possessions in the Empire: he had been prior at the famous Benedictine house of Kornelimünster near Aachen. This house was home to important relics such as a number of cloths associated with

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[205] Gerhard Zimmerman, *Das Breslauer Domkapital im Zeitalter der Reformation und Gegenreformation (1500–1600)* (Weimar, 1938) pp. 179, 372–375. Kurt Engelbert, "Der Breslauer Bischof Kaspar von Logau (1562–1574) und sein Domkapitel," *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 7 (1949), pp. 61–125. Here, p. 86.

[206] *"weltgewandte, geschmeidige Hofbischof,"* Jedin, "Krone Böhmen," p. 171.

[207] Kurt Engelbert, "Maßnahmen des Bischofs Kaspar von Logau (1562 bis 1574) zur Hebung des Katholizismus im Bistum Breslau," *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 3 (1938), pp. 127–151; 4 (1939), pp. 149–164. Here, pp. 128, 145–146.

Jesus and His crucifixion as well as other relics from Saint Cornelius, an early martyred Pope. It is possible that Bishop Christian's appointment was organized through the patronage of Elizabeth's aunt Maria or her husband Wilhelm V "the Rich," the duchess and duke of Jülich-Cleves who resided mostly in Düsseldorf. They held the right of protection over Kornelimünster.

The bishop's stay in Wiener Neustadt was not an easy one: he had conflicts with Emperor Ferdinand's close advisor Bishop Urban Sagstetter about allowing the laity the chalice, and at one time the cathedral preacher announced his upcoming wedding from the pulpit there.[208] By the time Queen María and her family were beginning the move back to Vienna in Summer, 1564, Bishop Christian received papal permission to allow Communion to be distributed in both kinds in his little diocese.[209]

Elizabeth's experiences with bishops were probably not all that impressive to the young archduchess and her mother. The bishops with whom they came into contact were often political appointees from all across the Empire and Hungary who found it difficult to administer the small and unruly city-diocese in which the court lived. The bishops in Neustadt as well as Vienna were more like court chaplains than imposing figures of ecclesiastical authority.

The problems faced by Bishop Christian as Elizabeth grew from nine to ten years old reflected well two of the main issues of debate confronting the Christian institutional establishment in her family's lands. Many of the clerics were married or living with women and the cry for permission for priests to wed was loud. The ongoing debate about access of the laity to the chalice, a debate which had been bitterly carried out in central Europe (particularly in Bohemia and Slovakia) since at least the early fifteenth century, continued. As long as no clear conclusion to the related discussions and debates was in sight, the situation in Elizabeth's broader religious environment would continue to be unsettled. The situation in her home was similarly unsettled: her father showed much sympathy to reformers' views on both of these issues, much to her mother and her mother's family's dismay. Her grandfather Emperor Ferdinand was also increasingly disturbed about the matter.

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[208] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), p. 243 (on conflict with Bishop Urban); Gerhartl, *Dom zu Wiener Neustadt*, p. 31 (about cathedral preacher's marriage).

[209] *Breve* from Pope Pius IV dated Rome, 29 July, 1564. Winner, *Diözesanarchiv St. Pölten*, p. 272.

Elsewhere in Wiener Neustadt

There were a few other religious institutions scattered around the city which may have had some impact on the growing archduchess during her Wiener Neustadt years. North of the cathedral, for example, was a modest church dedicated to Saint Peter which had originally been built along the city walls for a settlement of Dominican nuns. By the time of Empress Eleonora and Emperor Frederick's residence in the city, however, the nuns had left and had been replaced by Dominican friars. These, too, deserted the city in the decades around 1500, so when a community of refugee Franciscan nuns fleeing the Ottoman onslaught in Hungary came to the city, the authorities decided to allow them to use the vacant Dominican property.

When Elizabeth lived in her mother's court in Wiener Neustadt this was the only community of female religious with which she could have had contact. It was her only example of how nuns lived. If she met with them at all they could have told her of the horrors and dislocations the war-torn Hungarian front witnessed. The Poor Clares here in Wiener Neustadt were in residence from 1529 until 1574 when the three nuns remaining in the community were relocated to the small house of Poor Clares living in the Annagasse in Vienna, not far from the Habsburgs' castle residence.[210]

The medieval hospital or poorhouse with its chapel dedicated to Elizabeth's patron saint which had been located outside of the city to the north, near the road to Vienna and not far from the giant "Stone Cross," had suffered first during the difficult years of King Matthias and then during the Ottoman incursions of the 1520's. Its buildings were torn down in 1529 and the inhabitants and caregivers were transferred to the abandoned Franciscan friary's buildings located near the city walls in the southeast corner of the town. The friary church, which once hosted John Capistrano, was dedicated to Saint James.[211]

More recently, the city government had built a burghers' hospital on the cathedral square, reflecting an increased role in poor relief on the part of the city administration (and perhaps an implicit critique of the

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[210] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1983), p. 54 and Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1978), pp. 231 and 248. The 1978 work gives the date of the Poor Clares resettlement in Wiener Neustadt as 1546.

[211] Gerhartl, "Wiener Neustadt," p. 284; Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt* (1983), pp. 7–8.

cash-strapped ecclesiastical establishment's omissions in this regard). Emperor Ferdinand recognized the problem and authorized the erection of a number of such new establishments in his lands, often using buildings and/or incomes associated with ramshackle religious houses. Back in Vienna, for example, the architect Benedikt Kölbl was working on a large arcaded poorhouse complex being built near the imperial castle and Franciscan friary.[212]

In Wiener Neustadt the new burgher hospital was built with a chapel again dedicated to Saint Elizabeth.[213] One of the primary public undertakings of the female side of the court in Wiener Neustadt would have most likely been the distribution of alms. Queen María had an almoner on staff responsible for this undertaking and for recording the details of how court funds were used for pious ends. (In 1560 this was Álvaro de Magallenes.)[214] If Elizabeth participated at any point in the process of alms distribution as a girl, she may have visited the elderly and infirm inhabitants in the old friary or the new hospital on Cathedral Square.

Because of the various markets and festivities held regularly on the main square in the city, it is also possible that Elizabeth visited that location from time to time in the years she lived in the city. Near the middle of the square was located a block of buildings which were popularly known as the "Grätzl." It was here that market stalls would be set up. Permanent sales locations were built over time. In this commercial zone of the city the burghers had established a chapel dedicated to Saint Nicolaus. A small cemetery was located around the chapel.

In addition to the four-week market in honor of the Virgin Mary, the cathedral's patron, which was held in this square, the city hosted yearly markets on the festival of Saints Peter and Paul and on the eight days leading up to *Fasching Dienstag* ("Mardi Gras"). This latter celebration in particular may have had appeal to the children in the castle. Elizabeth's grandfather showed his favor to Wiener Neustadt while his grandchildren resided there: on 16 July, 1561 he provided for

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[212] Kühnel, "Stallburg," p. 217.

[213] *Ibid*., p. 23.

[214] Millán, et al., *Monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 699. For Queen María's letter of recommendation for Magallenes, dated Vienna 18 Sept., 1557, to the bishop of Cuenca, her brother Philip's confessor, see Juan Carlos Galende Díaz and Manuel Salamanca López, eds., *Epistolario de la emperatriz María de Austria. Textos inéditos del Archivo de la Casa de Alba* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 158–159. María was requesting a Spanish benefice for the almoner.

a fourth yearly market to be held during Cross Week (the Rogation or "Gang" Days following the Sunday after Easter leading up to the Festival of the Ascension), and confirmed a market for Saint Michael's Day (6 October).[215]

The contours of Archduchess Elizabeth's life in Wiener Neustadt are rather clear. She lived separated from the city in the castle ensconced in the women's rooms led by her mother and the widow María de Cardona, her mother's *camarera mayor.* Cardona presided over a heavily Iberian-oriented court where over half of the women present were from the peninsula, marking a shift from the practice under Queen Anna. Even King Ferdinand's retinue (which, especially at first, had been characterized by the presence of Spanish members such as Castillejo), was not as Iberian. María's court now had even more Spanish present than had been the case with Ferdinand, and many of those were of higher rank than his courtiers.[216]

Elizabeth and her sister Anna's religious upbringing was in the hands of members of her mother's chapel which, after Elizabeth turned five in July, 1559, was led by her mother's confessor, the Spanish friar Francisco de Córdova. Córdova had been the head of the Observant Franciscans' Province of Santiago and became an insistent voice for Christian orthodoxy during his eleven years at court. He had the opportunity to be a much greater influence on Elizabeth and Anna and their religious development than any of the various "pliant" court bishops such as Bishop Kaspar with whom they came into contact.

Dynastic contexts

Fall and Winter of 1558 and the year 1559 saw a number of changes on the wider dynastic and international scenes which would have had effects on Archduchess Elizabeth. Not long after the move to Neustadt and the birth of her brother Maximilian the court received word of the death of her grandfather Charles. The obligatory mourning ceremonies and decorations occupied the attentions of the castle staff that winter. The joy of a new son was muted by the news of the passing of the emperor. On the other hand, the death of Charles offered

[215] Gerhartl, "Wiener Neustadt," p. 272.
[216] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 123–132 discusses this phenomenon in detail.

the possibility of smoothing the relations between the pope and Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand. This opportunity was not taken by the aged pontiff. No papal confirmation of Ferdinand's imperial title was forthcoming. Ferdinand, who wanted to move the papacy's representatives to reopen the church council which had met in Trent and Bologna and finally settle the disputes and regulate the outstanding points of contention concerning Latin Christian religious practice and dogma, resignedly waited for a new regime to take over in Rome.

New regimes were taking over in other lands. Not only had one of Elizabeth's grandfathers passed from the scene, but her aunt Queen Mary of England also died that Fall. The late queen and Elizabeth's uncle Philip had not produced any heirs to the throne, so the controversial daughter of Queen Anne Boleyn and King Henry VIII, Elizabeth Tudor, ascended to rule over that kingdom. (Queen Anne had once been in service at the court of Archduchess Elizabeth's great-great aunt, Margarete, the dowager duchess of Savoy who served as Habsburg regent in the Netherlands.) Anne replaced Elizabeth's grandfathers' aunt Catalina on the English queen's throne and gave birth to the future Queen Elizabeth while Queen Catalina was still alive, calling the legitimacy of the birth and Elizabeth's claims to the throne into question.

Immediately after the death of Queen Mary of England, the idea of continuing the Habsburg-Tudor (anti-Valois) alliance was considered and Archduchess Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl were brought into play as possible grooms for the new queen. In February, 1559 Emperor Ferdinand's representative in Brussels, Count Georg von Helfenstein, was sent on a mission across the Channel to sound out the Tudor court concerning a possible match.[217]

The situation changed dramatically later that year. The mourning period for his deceased second wife at an end, Elizabeth's uncle Philip remarried as part of the reconciliation rituals accompanying the recent peace signed between the Habsburgs and the Valois. (Armies representing the two dynasties had been fighting for some time.) In a ceremony in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris on 22 June, 1559, the thirteen-year-

[217] Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* (NY, 1996), p. 27. See also her "Religion and Politics and the Court of Elizabeth I: The Habsburg Marriage Negotiations of 1559–1567," *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), pp. 908–926.

old French royal daughter Elisabeth wed the 32-year-old King Philip by proxy. Elizabeth had a new aunt and Spain had a new queen.

The competition for court spaces for the noblewomen of Spain became more intense, and the court of Queen Elisabeth in Spain had much to offer when compared to the precarious court of Queen María in Wiener Neustadt, surrounded as it was by Protestants and Ottomans, and marred as it was by the unclear religious leanings of King Maximilian. The news of Uncle Philip's remarriage must have been met with mixed feelings in the five-year-old Elizabeth of Habsburg's environment two kilometers from the Hungarian frontier.

How did the two queens' courts compare? Documents from 1560 allow a relatively detailed comparison to be made as to the structure and composition of the court of María, the titular queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Elizabeth's aunt, the queen consort of Spain.[218] In many ways the two courts were similar. (This is of course not very surprising given their common Iberian roots.) They both were elaborately structured, with over eighty separate, named positions available at each.

Most of these were what might be considered "support staff," and most of these positions were occupied by men. These were the men who served as pages, worked in the kitchens, served the queens at table, baked their bread, worked as buyers for their foodstuffs, chose their wines, and took care of the candles and wax of which the courtiers needed so much to light their evenings and mornings, accompany their prayers, and seal their letters. These were the men who took care of the carpets and tapestries which constantly had to be packed and moved as the courts moved from place to place, who arranged accommodations for the queens on these moves, and who made sure that the court's valuables (especially the jewelry) and wardrobe were inventoried, supervised, kept up. These men also worked as apothecaries and surgeons, doctors and specialists in bleedings. They were bookkeepers, secretaries, and doorkeepers. They were tailors and they were sweeps.

Queen María's and Queen Elisabeth's courts had similar establishments in 1560. Because they both had consorts upon whose staff could

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[218] The two documents are "Casada que tenía la serenísima Infanta María siendo su marido el serenísimo archiduque Maximiliano solo Rey de Ungría que fue el año de mill quinientos y sesenta" in Martínez Millán, *Monarquía*, vol. 2, pp. 699–703 and "Nómina de la Casa y Servidumbre de Doña Isabel" in Hofmann, *Spanische Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 268–272.

also be called, these courts lacked some of the personnel they may have had if the queens' husbands had not been present: the hunt staffs, for example, are lacking. Where variations in male staff appear, these variations reveal much about the difference between living at the court of a Spanish Habsburg princess in Austria and living at the court of a French Valois princess in Spain. María had a much more elaborate religious establishment than her sister-in-law. Queen María had a confessor on payroll, together with an almoner and numerous chaplains. She even had a courtier charged with supervising the chapel's valuables, her *repostero de capilla* Andrés Bançego. Queen Elisabeth only had an almoner.

The religious differences between Queen María and King Maximilian, together with the cultural differences between the Iberian and the central European, meant that María did not feel comfortable using her husband's court religious staff. Issues of personal taste aside, there was also the broader question of political power: the representatives of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg family were more powerful than those of the central European branch at this moment of the relationship. The Spanish had seniority and they had access to the riches of the Americas. The members of the central European branch of the family had the Ottomans. They had disputed claims over the Hungarian throne. Queen María and her brother King Philip in Spain could demand a strong retinue and an independent chapel. Archduchess Elizabeth grew up in these political and religious contexts. The difference in the size of the chapel staff in Maria's court may also have been a reflection of her Portuguese-influenced upbringing. Antonio Villacorta Baños-García in his biography of María's sister Juana reports that their mother Empress Isabel kept over forty chaplains.[219]

Other small differences between the male staff at the royal courts of María and Elisabeth bear noting: Queen Elisabeth's court in Spain included a private musician and a dance master. Queen María's court in Austria did not. Archduchess Elizabeth's upbringing in Neustadt was marked more by a large role for a sizable chapel staff than by private singing and dancing lessons. Her new aunt Elisabeth came from a different world, the world of her mother Queen Catherine de Medici of France where singing madrigals and dancing were important parts of court life. It was a world Queen Elisabeth of Spain's little niece Archduchess Elizabeth would come to know.

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[219] Antonio Villacorta Baños-Garcia, *La Jesuita* (Barcelona, 2005), p. 40.

It appears that Queen Elisabeth of Spain's life changed when she went to Iberia, perhaps becoming more like the cloistered court of her sister-in-law Queen María in Wiener Neustadt. Records including a diary dating from the early years of Queen Elisabeth's rule in Spain reveal a social world different from the one her mother Queen Catherine had organized and led back in France. In Spain, the queen never dined in public without King Philip and lived her life in the female quarters surrounded by the women of her court. Instructions from 1559 told the *camarera mayor* to personally hold the key to these quarters after they had been locked up each evening by the court's doormen, so the Spanish royal palaces had to effectively become locked-down dormitories for the up to hundreds of women in service in various capacities there.[220]

The women listed in the court records of Queen María and Queen Elisabeth in Austria and Spain respectively, were mostly of high rank. They served their queens not in mundane capacities such as sweeps, tailors, or cooks; they served as ladies. According to instructions for Austrian female courtiers from about a decade later, in addition to obeying a common evening curfew, the ladies were to process together each morning to Mass, eat their meals in common, and only use the public passageways in the castle.[221] They could only have visitors or leave the women's quarters in the castle with permission. Ladies in the early seventeenth century were normally between 18–24 years old, although there are examples of women beginning court service earlier in their teenage years.[222]

A significant difference appears when the ladies of the courts of the Hungarian and Spanish queens in 1560 are compared. Not only is the

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[220] Wilkinson-Zerner, "Women's Quarters," pp. 131–132. Hofmann reports that the women at court had a set time to go to bed. If the king was not present, the *camarera mayor* was to sleep on the floor in the queen's bedroom to make sure that she was never alone. There were no public dressing ceremonies as in France and access for any men, even the queen's physician, was very restricted. She ate seated alone at a table except when the king was dining with her. Hofmann, *Hofzeremoniell*, pp. 166–169. Hofmann points out that the evidentiary basis is not good, however: court regulations exist only for the period starting with the accession of Queen Anna (Archduchess Elizabeth's sister) in 1570: p. 32. Ferdinand Menčik in his important 1899 study of the Habsburgs' court officers in central Europe reported that the instructions for the women (the *Obirsthofmeisterinnen*) who headed the courts of the archduchesses and empresses were no longer extant: "Hofämter," p. 463.

[221] Keller, *Hofdamen*, pp. 89–93, with reference to 1571 instruction for court of Archduchess Elizabeth's Aunt (and cousin) Maria who was three years Elizabeth's senior and grew up at the court in Munich.

[222] Keller, *Hofdamen*, p. 52.

number of female courtiers slightly lower at Queen María's court than at that of Queen Elisabeth's, but the ratio of national origins is different. As has been previously discussed, Queen María was accompanied in Wiener Neustadt by a large number of Spanish noblewomen, often of high rank. In fact, the 1560 list of female courtiers reveals no noblewomen clearly from Hungary or Bohemia. The few non-Spanish noblewomen at Queen María's court where Archduchess Elizabeth was growing up appear to have been from the Austrian lands of the Habsburgs, not from their Hungarian or Bohemian ones. Dorothea von Völs, for example, has already been discussed. María was also served by a Lamberg and a Puchheim, women from two important Austrian families, but the vast majority of the women who served at court were Iberians such as Catalina Lasso, Aldonza de Castilla, Beatriz Márquez, and Isabel Vázquez. In contrast, Queen Elisabeth of Spain had four ladies-in-waiting explicitly described as French. They were listed separately from the six such ladies described as Spanish.

The Franco-Spanish marriage alliance of 1559 took on new significance later that summer. A new French queen came on the scene after Queen Catherine's husband King Henri II died as the result of a jousting accident. Queen Marie Stuart, consort to the new king Francis II, was now queen of two realms, Scotland and France. She also had claims over the disputed nearby kingdom of England with its claims in Ireland. King Maximilian's courtier Hans Khevenhüller was sent to Spain in 1560 to congratulate Queen Elisabeth and King Philip on their marriage. On the trip, he stopped by the French royal castle at Blois to pay Maximilian's respects to Queen Marie and King Francis and to congratulate them on their accession.[223] Where would the emperor and, more importantly for Archduchess Elizabeth, his son Maximilian, stand on the question of whether or not to support Elizabeth Tudor or Marie Stuart in England?

The answer to this question lies partly in Maximilian's religious leanings. These were a topic of discussion and debate across Europe and resulted in Queen María keeping a separate court chapel staff from her husband's, led as it was by the controversial court preacher Pfauser. As Emperor Ferdinand got on in years (and he was none too healthy), the question of the succession in the Empire became more pressing,

[223] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, pp. viii, 9. He had entered royal service in 1558 after a trip to Italy "…*die fürnembsten stett derselbs zu sehen*," as he wrote (p. 8).

and pressure mounted on the emperor from many quarters to try to get him to convince his son that his youthful fling with Protestants and their ideas needed to be put behind him in the interest of Mother Church. With the Council of Electors of the Empire split along religious lines, and some of the ecclesiastical voters looking none too stalwart in their support of the institutional Church's positions, the position of the King of Bohemia in his role as elector seemed crucial.

Much has been written concerning Archduchess Elizabeth's father's religious orientation. He has been described as "puzzling" (*rätselhaft*) and his religious tendency as "compromise Catholicism" (*Kompromißkatholizismus*).[224] A decade ago, Howard Louthan studied the intellectual world of King and then Emperor Maximilian's court and described it as irenic.[225] As a young man (he was 28 when the religious peace at Augsburg was confirmed,) Maximilian was confronted with the battles over Christian religious doctrines which had led to so much bloodshed in the Empire. Since those days he was friends with a number of convinced Protestants. It is perhaps not surprising that King Maximilian searched for a middle, less confrontational way in his religious policies and beliefs. It must be recalled, too, that at this crucial juncture in the late 1550's, the chances of restarting the church council and hashing out the differences of opinion which had developed among Latin Christians over their religious tenets and practices looked rather slim.

For Archduchess Elizabeth in the women's quarters in Neustadt Castle, the discussions and scenes surrounding the five-year-old must have been bewildering. Concerned by his son's religious practices such as avoiding participating in processions or attending Mass, as well as Maximilian's support for the controversial preacher Pfauser, Emperor Ferdinand began floating the idea of an annulment of María and Maximilian's Elizabeth's marriage.[226] He also contemplated

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[224] Viktor Bibl, *Maximilian II, der rätselhafte Kaiser* (Vienna, 1929) and Hopfen, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*

[225] Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997). See also Louthan and Randall C. Zachman, eds., *Conciliation and Confession: The Struggle for Unity in the Age of Reform, 1415–1648* (Notre Dame, IN, 2004), particularly the introduction and the articles by Graeme Murdock, "The Boundaries of Reformed Irenicism: Royal Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality," pp. 150–172 and Zdeněk V. David, "Confessional Accommodation in Early Modern Bohemia: Shifting Relations between Catholics and Ultraquists," pp. 173–98.

[226] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 42.

disinheriting his son, or withdrawing his nomination as heir to the throne of Bohemia in favor of his younger brother Ferdinand. King Ferdinand had been under pressure by men such as Peter Canisius and the Spanish Habsburg relatives to bring Maximilian in line. Suggestions that Maximilian's children should be educated by the Jesuits were met with a rebuke by their father, who was often in conflict with his father over the upbringing of Elizabeth, her sister, and her brothers. As the head of the family, Ferdinand thought that he had the right to determine whom his grandchildren should marry and how they should be brought up. Queen María was caught in the middle between her marital, familial, and religious obligations: clearly tied with links of affection to her spouse, she also lobbied him to adjust his religious views.[227]

Paula Sutter Fichtner wrote that Maximilian "lived in an extended adolescence," placed there by an often-sick and overbearing father who kept Maximilian on a short leash financially, politically, and personally.[228] By Summer, 1559, he was over thirty years old, with six children of his own (and another on the way: María was pregnant again). Maximilian was itching for more responsibility and freedom of action. Elizabeth's mother refused to agree to an annulment, preferring instead to work on Maximilian in other ways. For example, she asked her sister Juana, the regent of Spain while their brother Philip was abroad in England and elsewhere, to intervene. Queen Juana sent a confessor to talk to Maximilian, but to no avail.[229] Elizabeth's aunts in Innsbruck, Maximilian's sisters, were also concerned and wrote their brother letters in which they asked him to dismiss his preacher.

Fall, 1559 was tense. Ferdinand was disappointed by the results of the recent *Reichstag*, the only one of his reign over which he would preside. Many of the Protestant representatives had pushed for revisions to the 1555 peace settlement. Although he had managed to push through, with the help of the archbishop-elector of Mainz, some administrative reforms which adjusted the Empire to its new ruler and its new capital, overall Ferdinand's reluctance to call an imperial religious council to supersede the earlier papally-sanctioned one meant little headway could be made on that front.

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[227] Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II*, pp. 347–348.
[228] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 51.
[229] Hopfen, *Kompromißkatholizismus*, p. 28.

One break occurred when news arrived of the death on 18 August of Pope Paul IV. For the rest of the year, discussions and debates would rage in Rome over who was to follow him. Perhaps now some movement, some flexibility, could be expected from the papacy. In Elizabeth's family, things got worse: her grandfather, hearing reports of the marriage of Maximilian's preacher Pfauser, angrily removed him in October from all his benefices and issued a decree forbidding him to preach. At his court in Wiener Neustadt, Maximilian prevailed upon his wife Queen María to refrain from her usual practice at birth and to hold a crucifix instead of a picture of Saint Mary, a move away from the Marian devotional practices so dear to traditional Latin Christians and toward the more Christocentric practices of the religious reformers.[230]

Elizabeth's new brother, her fifth, was named Albrecht. This name recalled a long tradition in the Habsburg family, a tradition which many of the medieval dukes of the family had followed. In this case, Elizabeth's little brother very likely was named with his uncle, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria, in mind. Duke Albrecht was the husband of King Maximilian's favorite sister Anna. The foundations for the important future alliance between his house, the Wittelsbachs, and María and Maximilian's family, the Habsburgs, were being laid. A reformed Catholic party uniting Austria and Bavaria was under discussion.

During Advent of Archduchess Elizabeth's fifth year, rumors were swirling around María, Ferdinand, and Maximilian's courts. The Venetian ambassador Soranzo wrote from Vienna reporting on the massive disagreements between the king and the emperor concerning the former's religion and court preacher. The Spanish ambassador, Soranzo reported, was threatening to treat Maximilian as an enemy if he did not stop what the Spanish representatives considered his Lutheranism.[231]

The papal conclave in Rome finally reached an end, opening new possibilities for negotiations concerning Elizabeth's father Maximilian. After four months of debate, on Christmas Day the assembled cardinals selected the Milanese notary's son Giovanni Angelo Medici to ascend to Saint Peter's Throne. He took the name Pius IV and would

[230] Hopfen, *Kompromißkatholizismus*, p. 39.
[231] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 125–127: dispatch dated 19 (Dec. 1559).

rule for six years.[232] He was probably the first pope which Elizabeth would remember. Pope Pius quickly moved to mend bridges between the papacy and the emperor, bridges which had been seriously damaged during his predecessor's term in office. Within days he had officially recognized Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand as Holy Roman Emperor. Medici had withdrawn from Rome the year before in protest of his predecessor's anti-Habsburg policies. Now he worked quickly to better relations with the *Casa d'Austria*.

Elizabeth's father was still pushing for more authority in the family. As titular king of Bohemia, he was adamant that he, not his younger brother Archduke Ferdinand, should be directing affairs in that kingdom. (Ferdinand had been Bohemia's governor for well over a decade.) In January, 1560, Maximilian rode to Vienna to demand that his brother give up the reins of government there and, when Archduke Ferdinand refused, Maximilian, accompanied by María, galloped angrily back to Wiener Neustadt to weigh his options.[233]

These were limited. If he did not consent to moderate his religious position, the loss of his inheritance and any chance to rule either of his kingdoms in reality as opposed to in name loomed large. He did have the satisfaction of knowing, however, that, as in his relations with his cousin King Philip of Spain, in his relations with his father he held a strong dynastic hand due to his wife's capacity to produce male heirs. Little Archduke Albrecht in his cradle in the women's quarters in Neustadt Castle was the latest evidence of this capacity. Cousin Philip had only one son (although with his new young wife Elisabeth de Valois that could change at any moment); María and Maximilian had five (and two daughters). Maximilian's younger brother Karl was unmarried and therefore a question mark in regard to his heir-raising capacity. His brother Ferdinand, the father's namesake and favorite, had a different type of problem: he had secretly married a commoner. (It is not clear whether María and Maximilian knew this yet. Evidence indicates that they were informed by September, 1561.)[234]

After commanding troops in a successful campaign in Hungary in summer, 1556, Elizabeth's 28-year-old uncle Ferdinand had returned

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[232] John Norman Davidson Kelly, *Reclams Lexikon der Päpste* Hans-Christian Oeser, trans. (Stuttgart, 1988), pp. 284–285. He was not related to the famous Medici family of the Duchy of Tuscany.

[233] Hopfen, *Kompromißkatholizismus*, p. 35.

[234] Bucholtz, *Ferdinand des Ersten*, vol. 8, pp. 719–725. Heller and Vocelka, *Private Welt*, pp. 123–126.

to Bohemia. There he had reacquainted himself with Philippine Welser, the daughter of Augsburg burghers. Philippine and Ferdinand had apparently met at the *Reichstag* held there the year before. By January, 1557 they were secretly married. By July, 1558 they had a son, Andreas. It took the couple some time to decide to tell Ferdinand's father about the marriage and the new arrival. This they had finally done in the tense summer of the following year.

Emperor Ferdinand seems to have been taken by surprise. His plans to possibly marry his son to a promising royal such as the new queen of England now had to be revised. The couple drew up a formal document informing the emperor 31 July, 1559 and Ferdinand signed a formal agreement while at the Imperial Assembly in Augsburg the next day to terms concerning the marriage, Philippine's possible widow's portion, child support, and so on. Only in the case of a complete lack of any male heirs in the family (a situation which did not look very likely given María's many children) were sons from this secret marriage to inherit Habsburg family property.

Now Emperor Ferdinand's threats to disinherit his unruly son Maximilian were less likely to be realized and Archduchess Elizabeth's place in the family's future more secure. This did not, however, make the next step any easier for her father Maximilian. After a few days of soul searching in Wiener Neustadt, he decided to return to his father in Vienna and inform Ferdinand of his intention to release his controversial court preacher. Maximilian would also enter into negotiations with his father and the pope concerning some sanctioned concessions to his beliefs, particularly when it came to the issue of communicating in both kinds, with the chalice as well as the bread. Queen María, her ladies, and her chapel staff were probably ecstatic about the news. Barring any unforeseen developments, accession to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, and probably the Empire, looked much more likely.

Pope Pius sent a new legate, Stanislaw Hozjusz (Bishop of Warmia), to the Imperial court in Vienna to discuss various issues with the emperor, including reopening the Church council—in Imperial territory, Trent—and dealing with King Maximilian's conscience. Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Ferdinand cried at the sermon which Hozjusz delivered when he arrived in the Imperial capital, relieved to be on good terms with a pope again.[235] The Krakow-born Hozjusz, now 56 years old, had spent much of his career in the service of the

[235] Fichtner, "Disobedience," p. 29.

king of Poland. Just two years before he had been called to Rome and was to make a splendid career there, reaching the rank of cardinal within a year of completing his mission to Vienna.

Hozjusz's reign as prince-bishop of a disputed diocese on the borderlands between the one-time Teutonic Knights' lands in the east of the Empire and the Kingdom of Poland would be marked by his implementation of the Tridentine decrees through activities such as the convocation of an diocesan synod, the calling of the Jesuits to the important city of Braniewo, and the initial stages of the establishment of the new Order of Saint Catherine by the Braniewo burghers' daughter Regina Prothmann. He is credited with having played a significant role in Maximilian's decision to not break with the papacy.

The issues raised by Maximilian were hardly peculiar to him. Ferdinand was also interested in getting papal approval of more wide-ranging concessions for his subjects, including the chalice for the laity and the lifting of the ban on married clergy. These concessions might help Ferdinand rekindle plans concerning the relationship with the semi-independent section of eastern Hungary. After the death of the dowager (anti-) queen Isabella on 15 November, 1559, her son John Sigismund (as anti-king "John II") sent emissaries to Vienna to discuss future relations. The fighting on that front had begun to shift in the Habsburgs' allies' favor and defections were weakening John Sigismund's cause dramatically.[236] "John II's" representatives, including chancellor Mihály Csáky, arrived in Vienna in late January, 1560.

The pope was interested in pushing ahead on improving relations with Ferdinand (and by extension Maximilian) because events in France seemed to be taking a turn for the worse: Queen Marie's husband was ill, religious disturbances were beginning to be reported, and it seemed that that kingdom might be sliding into civil war. In March, 1560, a plot by Huguenot leaders there had misfired leading to bloody retribution at the royal castle of Amboise on the part of the crown. This in turn resulted in Huguenot machinations and maneuvers. Duke Christopher of Württemberg, in a meeting with the imperial representative Zasius in Christopher's capital of Stuttgart, discussed his opinion that the French king was dying and the kingdom's government

[236] Makkai and Mócsy, *History of Transylvania*, vol. 1, p. 633; Teréz Oborni, "Die Pläne des Wiener Hofes zur Rückeroberung Siebenbürgens 1557–1563," pp. 277–297 in Fuchs, et al., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.*

on the verge of collapse. He volunteered to lead a force of imperially-sanctioned troops into France to recover the city of Metz which had been occupied by the French during the previous king's reign, providing that the city would then be granted to him as a hereditary imperial fief.[237]

The Vienna festival

In Vienna, Spring, 1560 was spent in preparation for a month-long set of giant spectacles, tournaments and celebrations which were planned for the visit of Elizabeth's aunt and uncle, Duchess Anna and Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, together with Elizabeth's aunts Magdalena, Eleonore, Margarete, Barbara, Helene, and Johanna, her father's sisters who lived out west in Tyrol.[238] In addition, Elizabeth, her uncles Ferdinand and Karl, her parents, her older brothers, and her sister would be part of this family festival. The festival guests and participants included the papal legate, the Spanish, Polish, Venetian, Maltese, Tuscan, Ferraran, Mantuan, and Genoese ambassadors, and many representatives of the Imperial, Bohemian, and Hungarian nobility. The festivities provide a snapshot of the political and social horizons of the courts in which Elizabeth was growing up as well as some aspects of the education she was receiving.

This Vienna Festival was officially sponsored by King Maximilian in honor of his father the emperor. It reveals an attempt on the part of the two to find some common ground beyond the religious differences which divided them, and to celebrate the understanding they had reached through the tense negotiations and conflicts over the years. The tournament with its non-religious orientation also provided a stage on which the noblemen of the Habsburgs' lands could parade and on which they could work together, possible religious and political differences left off. The noblewomen played key roles as the awarders of prizes; they also were the spectators in the boxes and windows at

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[237] Zasius to Ferdinand I dated Weil, 10 March, 1560. Goetz, *Beiträge*, p. 186.

[238] Michaela Hohkamp has argued persuasively for the importance of aunts in the complex and creative organization of aristocratic social groupings in the Holy Roman Empire: "Tanten: vom Nutzen einer verwandtschaftlichen Figur für die Erforschung familiärer Ökonomien in der Frühen Neuzeit," *Werkstatt Geschichte* 2 (2007), pp. 5–12.

whom much of the spectacle was directed, as well as the theoretical reason for its performance.[239] The Vienna Festival provided the opportunity for shared experience and camaraderie for the participants and the audience.

For the not-yet-six Archduchess Elizabeth, the festival was probably a learning experience. The themes of the tournament and the roles her mother, aunts, and sister played all helped prepare Elizabeth to understand the world in which she would live. This set of entertainments will be discussed in some detail based on the written description left by one of the heralds who helped organize and document it, Hans Francolin of Burgundy, as well as on the various illustrations left by the artist Hanns Sebald Lautensack and others.[240] Francolin played the roles of organizer, participant, and chronicler in this performance.

Francolin began his account with a discussion of the temporary dancehall which was constructed next to the Vienna castle on top of the Castle (or "Spanish") Bastion, the impressive new construction which was to defend the imperial residence from any new attack by the Ottomans' army.[241] Only steps from the *Hofburg*, this hall would

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[239] Jane Tylus argued for the importance of the "survey and control" aspect of women's roles in late sixteenth-century theatrical performances in her "Women at the Windows: *Commedia dell'arte* and Theatrical Practice in Early Modern Italy," *Theatre Journal* 49 (1997), pp. 323–342. Here, p. 341.

[240] Hans Francolin, *Thurnier Buch* (Vienna, 1560). For a review of the book's content (with illustrations): Gerhard Winkler, "Das Turnierbuch Hans Francolins," *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus dem Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseum* 100 (1980), pp. 105–120. The book was re-released by Siegmund Feyerabend with woodcuts by Jost Amann and Hans Bocksberger the Younger in Frankfurt am Main in 1566 and 1579 and agin in Dresden in 1590 (pp. 119–120). See also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Variations on the Imperial Theme in the Age of Maximilian II and Rudolf II* (NY, 1978), pp. 24–26. Margit Altfahrt discussed the festival as an example of political propaganda for Elizabeth's father Maximilian: "Die politische Propaganda für Maximilian II. (Erster Teil)," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichischen Geschichtsforschung* 88 (1980), pp. 283–312. Here, pp. 294–296. For a more general discussion and images of the various tournaments put on by the Habsburg courts in central Europe in the early modern period, see Sandbichler, "Habsburgische Feste," and "'Übungen, die edeln Kavalieren ziemen': Habsburgische Turniere im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," pp. 65–66 in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*. For a useful comparison with the ducal courts of Saxony and their tournaments and festivals at the same time, which undoubtedly influenced the Habsburgs' entertainments and were influenced by them, see Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden: From Renaissance to Baroque* (NY, 2002).

[241] David Parrott has pointed out how the great fortification projects of sixteenth-century Italy cannot always be looked at purely in terms of their defensive utility. They were also, Parrott argues, a type of conspicuous consumption intended to stamp the ruling family's identity onto a chosen city. "The Utility of Fortifications in Early Modern

be the site of many of the upcoming festivities, particularly the dances which followed the various tournaments. It was at these dances that the court ladies would distribute the prizes to the men who had participated in the day's activities. Less than two months after the Vienna Festival Tilemann Stella, a member of the entourage of Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg, visited the city with the duke. Stella's diary reveals the way men from the Empire saw Vienna, and particularly the massive fortifications, arsenals filled with weaponry, and galleys there. The bastions (such as the one on which the dancehall was built) were so large, Stella thought, a chateau could be built on some of them. He even left a sketch of the *Hofburg* and its adjacent bastion where the dancehall was located.[242]

The dancehall was sixty paces long, thirty wide, and painted blue and grey. It sported fourteen columns made to look at though they were marble, with gilded capitals and bases. In the middle were a set of risers, three steps high, for the emperor and his children. These risers were decorated with gilded roses. A bench was located here, too, Francolin wrote, "for the ladies of the court, which was covered with expensive carpets and tapestries."[243] Across the hall was another set of risers, five steps high, set up so that the attending nobility would be able to see the events. A stage for the musicians was placed next to the nobles' risers.

On 24 May, 1560, the festivities began with the arrival of the decorated red-and-white galleys of the Habsburgs' Danube River fleet,

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Europe: Italian Princes and their Citadels, 1540–1640," *War in History* 7 (2000), pp. 127–153. Here, p. 152. The same can be said for Vienna and the Habsburgs. Parrott points to a kind of competition between princes when it came to construction, and to how the "harsh and overbearing" architecture was a type of "material indication of the authority of the prince" (p. 148). This would have been particularly important to Emperor Ferdinand, who had had difficulties with the government of Vienna and was still having conflicts with its representatives concerning issues relating to religious conduct. On the name of the bastion, see Winkler, "Turnierbuch," p. 114.

[242] Ferdinand Oppl, "'Iter Viennese Cristo auspice et duce.' Wien im Reisetagebuch des Tilemann Stella von 1560," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 52/53 (1996/1997), pp. 321–360. Here, ill. 7, p. 341. Stella reports inspecting the bastions on both 12 August and 24 August, 1560. He also was interested in the grave of the hero of the defense of Vienna in 1529, Count Niklas von Salm, which he sketched in his diary (ill. 11, p. 349). On the size and the chateau, see p. 332. For copies of some of the construction project plans from 1551–1562, including the Arsenal, see Oberleitner, "Finanzen," Plans II–VI.

[243] "*für das FrawenZimer/ die mit köstlichen Tepichen und Tapiseereyen bedecht gewesen*," Francolin, *Thurnier-Buch*, f. 1v.

some manned with crews dressed in the distinctive costume of the Hungarian hussars, holding aloft long lances tipped with red and white pennants.[244] The hussars' costumes recalled the battlefields of the east. These men carried the distinctive curved Turkish sabers and battle maces that had wreaked so much havoc in the decades of fighting on the Pannonian plain and up into the hills that edged it. A Venetian gondola in the flotilla with its little red and white canopy recalled the naval struggles that republic had been having for so long with the same foe in the seas to the south.

Four days later, Elizabeth's uncle Karl ordered the ceremonial start to the festivities. Francolin, dressed in the colors and wearing the coat of arms of Hungary, the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen, had joined two fellow heralds, one dressed in the colors and arms of Bohemia, the Lands of the Crown of Saint Václav, and the other in the colors and arms of the Holy Roman Empire, in a slow procession from the archduke's apartments in the city down the ceremonial route along the Vienna streets Graben and Kohlmarkt over to the castle. Accompanied by twelve drummers and pipers, their charge was to make public the grounds for and occasion of the upcoming tournament, the first of five the month's festivities would include.

Archduchess Elizabeth would have surely seen and heard the public proclamation: her uncle Karl had ordered it to be made "from the little old walkway across from the women's chamber" in the castle.[245] The proclamation's contents directly addressed the inhabitants of these rooms. Four challengers complained publicly, "that they had been so poorly rewarded and even more poorly handled."[246] The complaint continued, "with the knowledge that their lovers had so poorly treated them, they do not know how they can think other than that all maidens are similarly so inclined to be ungrateful toward their lovers."[247] They challenged anyone who thought otherwise to a duel on foot at noon on the Feast of the Trinity (9 June, so almost two weeks later).

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[244] For a sketch of one of these galleys, see Oppl, "Iter Viennese," ill. 5, p. 338.

[245] *"dem alten kleinen gang gegen dem Frawen Zimer,"* Francolin, *Thurnier-Buch,* f. ii, v.

[246] "*dß sie gantz übel belohnet/ und noch vil übler getractiert worden*" Francolin, *Thurnier-Buch*, f. iii, r.

[247] *"In bedenckung/ nach dem sie ire Liebhaberin so übel getractiert/ wissen sie anders nicht zu dedencken/ dan es seyen alle Jungkfrawe gleichfalls andere gegen iren Liebhabern zu undanckbarkeit gesinnet."* Francolin, *Thurnier-Buch*, f. iii, r.

The heralds went on to detail the rules of engagement, the length of the tournament, the prizes to be awarded, and so on.

A few days later, on Pentecost Sunday, 2 June, Juan Alfonso Gastaldo ordered another such announcement to be made. This time, twelve trumpeters accompanied him down Graben to Kohlmarkt and then to the castle where, after an appropriate fanfare, he announced that a horsed tournament would also take place. Although Francolin does not detail the grounds for this fight, it would deal with the fate of Cupid. Perhaps the women were not responsible for their behavior in love, the grounds for this fight went. Instead, perfidious Cupid was the guilty one and he was to be tried by combat. If his champions lost, then he would die.

What food for thought for the next two weeks! The women of the court were being confronted with some major issues and debates. How was a woman to behave? What were the rules of love? Was she responsible for her actions, or were they the result of some other's intervention? (Say, Cupid?) What were the effects of a woman's actions on the men with whom she had contact? One can imagine the debates that raged in the women's quarters in Vienna on those exciting, busy days in late May and early June. Outside the castle the lists were being prepared, the bleachers built. Inside the castle the dresses were being sewn and fitted, the detachable arms embroidered for use as favors for the champions of the women's cause.[248] Elizabeth and eleven-year-old Anna knew that these were issues and behaviors they needed to understand as women. It is not clear how they understood them as girls.

The timing for the festival may have said something to the girls because of ties to liturgical, seasonal, and popular culture. Ascension Thursday had been celebrated the day before the fleet arrived marking the opening of the Vienna Festival. Now in the liturgical year the period after Christ's departure for heaven was commemorated. This was a happy time of flower garlands and May-time celebrations, when it was recalled that the Holy Spirit had descended giving a visible sign of God's grace and beginning the ministry of the Church on earth. In some areas of the German-speaking world, a maiden may have been crowned as a Whitsuntide bride (*Pfingstbraut*) as part of

[248] For an example of such a detachable arm, see Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, pp. 88–89 (with illustration).

elaborate festivities marking the return of Spring and the opening of the Summer pastures. If later customs and practices were followed, foot or horse races may have been held in the villages, with prizes to the victors.[249]

The Saturday following the Pentecost celebrations (of which Francolin makes no explicit mention), 8 June, was yet another day of pomp. Seven of the archduchesses' aunts and their uncle Albrecht, accompanied by an array of musicians, arrived by boat in the city. Although it does not appear that either María, Elizabeth or her sister Anna were there to meet them at the docks, a brief survey of the scene allows some points to be made about the political situation of which they were observers and (to a limited extent) participants. The girls' father King Maximilian and their uncle Archduke Karl met the women at the arsenal on the water's edge. This arsenal, much more modest than its Venetian counterpart, was under construction as part of Emperor Ferdinand's grandiose defense schemes against the perceived Ottoman threat from down the Danube. Organizing the reception at the arsenal was meant to impress the participants, and many of the participants who were there had reason to want to be impressed: the entire diplomatic corps who greeted the archduchesses and duke as they climbed out of the galleys represented rulers who stood facing the same threat, either in central Europe (Poland), or the Mediterranean and the Italian peninsula (the papacy, Spain, Venice, the Knights of Saint John, Tuscany, Ferrara, Mantua and Genoa).

Elizabeth's seven aunts and their ladies clambered into decorated wagons for the procession from the docks to the castle. The archduchesses ranged in age from 32 to 13. Only Anna, the eldest, was married. She had taken a reduction in rank and married the duke of Bavaria. The other six of Queen Anne and King Ferdinand's daughters were still marriageable: this set of tournament themes was in many ways thought out with them in mind. An eyewitness from the Bavarian ducal court, Wolf Wolfrath, reported the scene:

> And as we arrived in Vienna, we saw so many people who had come that we were amazed. It cannot be told or described with what magnificence and grandeur the lords and princes appeared there, and how beautifully

[249] Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch*, vol. 6, cols. 1684–1703 (1930–31). The Whitsuntide Bride (also "May Bride," Pentecost Queen, etc.) sometimes was paired with a bridegroom who was either sleeping or dead. The bride/queen would have to revive him: vol. 5 (1932–33), col. 1524–1526.

> the maidens had prepared and adorned themselves with precious stones, decorative chains, flowers and ribbons. One did not know where to turn one's eyes. I simply ran through the streets in order to hear and see what went on.[250]

They were met at the *Hofburg* by Emperor Ferdinand and his daughter-in-law María. Although Francolin's account does not mention Elizabeth and Anna, it is likely that they were there, too, as they had been two years earlier when Ferdinand had entered his capital. The apartments across the castle square had been acquired by the crown and connected to the castle by a private walkway. These would be guestrooms for Queen María's visiting sisters-in-laws. This did not include Duchess Anna: she and her husband had rooms in another location.

The next morning was Trinity Sunday. After services, the emperor hosted a meal for his daughters and sons.[251] The weather was poor so the day's planned tournament activities had to be postponed. The highlight of this Sunday was the (late) arrival of Archduke Ferdinand, Elizabeth's strong-willed but romantic uncle. Now almost the entire family was together. Of Elizabeth's grandmother Anna and grandfather Ferdinand's twelve surviving children, only her aunts Maria and Katharina were not in Vienna for the happy festivities that Spring. Maria was the duchess of the complicated lower Rhenish lands known as "Jülich-Kleve-Berg" and Katharina, as has already been discussed, was suffering in Poland-Lithuania as the queen and grand duchess of that peculiar set of territories.

The tournament on foot could finally be held that Wednesday, 12 June. First the challengers appeared in the lists set up in the outer castle yard, led by Elizabeth's uncle Karl and dressed in brown, white, and yellow costumes. Queen María's Royal High Chamberlain, Francisco Lasso de Castilia, was by his side. They exchanged greetings with the judges and took their places. Next, Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand marched in at the head of a group of forty red-dressed knights at their ready to defend the honor of women. Queen María's

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[250] "*Und als wir nach Wien kamen, sahen wir des angekommenen Volkes so viel, daß wir schier erstaunten. Es ist auch nicht zu sagen und zu beschreiben, mit welcher Pracht und Herrlichkeit die Fürsten und Herren da erschienen, und wie schön die Jungfrauen sich zugerüstet und ausgeschmückt hatten, mit Edelsteinen, Ketten, Blumen und Bändern, daß man gar nicht wußte, wohin man die Augen wenden sollte.*" Quoted in Winkler, "Turnierbuch," p. 109.

[251] For a contemporary depiction of a court banquet at the 1560 festivities, see Dreger, *Baugeschichte*, ill. 102.

Master of the Horse, Dietrichstein, appeared in another group of jousters as one band followed the next, all bedecked and armored, plumed and armed.

Elizabeth's attention no doubt was captured by the sixth group of tournament participants who entered the yard. This one included the Italian giant Bartelme, a huge man reportedly twice as tall as the next in line. Not only was he large: he was carrying a fir tree which had been ripped from the ground by its roots. As he walked he yelled, "Out of the way, I'm a giant and smashed this tree with all my might!"[252] Francisco Lasso de Castilla was back with this band, which included many of the high officers of the Bohemian realm, including the Knight of the Golden Fleece, Vratislav von Pernšteýn, the Hereditary Marshall of Bohemia, Barthold Lord of Lippa, Bohemian Royal Chamberlain Adam von Schmeckowitz and others.[253] Following these lords were Elizabeth's older brothers, the seven-year-old Ernst and the eight-year-old Rudolf. Ernst carried a long pike and Crown Prince Rudolf participated in a joust with his uncle Karl, breaking two lances and swinging his sword five times. Following this exhibition, Elizabeth's brothers were led from the lists, surely tired from the strain of wearing their miniature suits of armor, but just as surely happy to have been given the chance to "fight."

The ninth band was led by a single champion for women's honor, Laslo Poppel von Lobkowicz, an important Bohemian nobleman and Imperial Chamberlain. Rapier at his side, the chronicler Francolin reports, Lobkowicz strode in with an elaborately plumed helmet on whose plumes a maiden's sleeve was fixed. The brown sleeve was "beautifully embroidered with gold and silver thread and finely cut in such a way as to allow yellow and white satin through which was beautiful and desirable to see."[254] This was a type of maiden's favor.

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[252] "*Platz/ ich bein ein Ryß/ und hat den Baum mit gantzem gewalt zerschütt/*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch,* f. xiii, r. An illustration of the entrance of the giant, his tree, and his diminutive sidekick Archduke Rudolf is reproduced in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 64.

[253] On the increasing role for Bohemian nobles at Archduke Ferdinand's court in the course of the 1550's, (and the role of the archduke's marriage in this development), see Václav Bůžek, "Integrationsmöglichkeiten böhmischer Adeliger am Hof Ferdinand I.," pp. 339–357 in Fuchs, et al., *Kaiser Ferdinand I.* Here, p. 345 with specific mention of the Lobkowicz family.

[254] "*schön gestickt mit gulden unnd silbren Schnürlein/ darzwischen fein zerschnitten/ und durch die schnidt gelber und weisser Atlaß heraußgangen/ welchs gar schön und lustig zu sehen ist gewesen.*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xiv v.

The women would prepare or purchase them to give to their champions in the lists. Lobkowicz was a champion of the ladies.

When all but one of the bands of knights had entered the area in which this "foot tournament" was to take place, a goddess appeared leading a captured knight, Count Ernst von Ortenburg, on a white chain into the yard. The count was a son of Elisabeth of Baden, a margravate bordering on Württemberg in the complex southwest quarter of the Empire. Elisabeth was the second wife of Count Gabriel von Ortenburg, a Spanish noble from Burgos who had accompanied Ferdinand to the Low Countries and then Austria earlier in the century.[255] The countess von Ortenburg was the godmother of Elizabeth's aunt Eleonora, one of the visiting archduchesses.

The goddess led the young count to a prison in an artificial mountain with miniature trees, birds, and musical automatons that played during his imprisonment. She wore a tall hat described as "old Frankish" in style, complete with a large button on top holding a taffeta veil. Her costume, Francolin informs, made her look "as one normally paints the Sibyls:" it was yellow and covered in little blue and yellow feathers.[256] The reception of the Sibylline Oracles, at least in educated circles, had been accelerated by their publication in Basel fifteen years before by the Augsburg scholar Sixt Birck (and then shortly thereafter their translation and publication in Latin). Here in Vienna in 1560, reference was made to ancient texts and stories which reflected particular aspects of the intellectual world of the place and period in which Archduchess Elizabeth was growing up.

The tournament's yellow and blue-dressed goddess turned to the judges and presented a long supplication. This supplication was reprinted by Francolin. It identifies her as "Isabelle von Carthago" and asks the judges to grant her permission to release her knight in order for him to fight for the honor of the maidens which had been so wronged in the public written proclamation of the challengers issued over two weeks before and now known throughout much of the world. This knight's lover had "shown him with friendship and propriety all

[255] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 265–266. Gabriel de Salamanca, Count von Ortenburg had been married first to Elisabeth von Eberstein.

[256] "*wie man dan die Sibyllen pflegt zu male*," Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xv, v. A contemporary depiction of the goddess has been attached to the depiction of the giant discussed above. See Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 76. In her hand she holds the supplication and her long magic wand. She stands by the fake mountain, from which many birds are flying.

the honorable proper faithfulness and love until the present hour."[257] Isabelle and the knight had come from distant lands to contradict the challengers' claims. The judges should allow this man into the lists "so that the knight can combat and fight against the baseless charge, for the salvation of me and all honorable loving maidens…"[258]

The text later identifies Isabelle as from "Phrygia," an ancient land in Asia Minor and home to one of the sibyls. In order to understand the significance of that reference, it is necessary to turn to a contemporary popular version of their prophecies, the "*prophetiae sibyllarum*" by the increasingly popular composer active at the Bavarian court, Orlando di Lasso. In his younger days di Lasso had been at the court in Naples where he had taught the princess Ippolita Gonzaga. Legend had it that the sibyls had once lived in the caves near Naples and it is theorized that the legends and art works depicting them inspired di Lasso to write his musical version of their prophecies.[259] These are known in a manuscript dating from 1560, the year of the Vienna festivities.

The seventh prophecy was sung as follows:

> I myself saw God Almighty, wishing to punish
> The stupid men of the world, and the rebels blind at heart.
> As the vessel of our crimes is full to the brim,
> Into the body of the Virgin from the heaven above
> That same God wished to send His offspring, as the Angel announced
> To the bountiful mother, Who shall wash the miserable sinners clean.[260]

The mixture of ancient exoticism and Christian symbolism, complete with Marian references, reveals significant aspects of the cultural manifestations to which the women associated with the courts at Vienna

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[257] "*vo seiner liebhaberin alle ehrliche gebürliche treuw un lieb biß auff die gegenwertige stud freundtlich un gebürlich erzeigt wordę/*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xvi, r.

[258] "*…zu errettung meiner und aller ehrlichen liebhabenden Jungkfrauwę…wider die ungefügte Klag der Ritter streiten und fechten möge*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch,* f. xvi, v.

[259] Linda Maria Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur. Ein Handbuch zum deutschen Sprachgebiet der Frühen Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2005), p. 22; Jerome Roche, *Lassus* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 17–18.

[260] "*Ipsa deum vidi summon, punier volentem/ Mundi hominess stupidos, et pectoral caeca rebellis./ Et quia sic nostrum complerent criminal pellem,/ Virginis in corpus voluit demitterer coelo/ Ipse dues prolem, quam nunciat angelus alma/ Matri, quo miseros contracta sorde lavaret.*" Translation from "Orlando di Lasso: Prophetiae sibyllarum, Italian Madrigals, French Chansons," Cantus Cölln under the direction of Konrad Junghänel. BMG Musik, 1994. CD liner notes, p. 22.

were presented and which they helped to constitute. Images of sibyls, angels, and a bountiful mother were presented in this piece, as was the desire of an almighty God who wished to punish stupid men and rebels. This mixture was then alluded to in performances witnessed by the young archduchess.

Predictably, in the case at hand in the Vienna tournament, the judges ruled in the character Isabelle's favor. Taking a silver staff, she went to the mountain prison of her champion and, with a wave of this wand, freed him. Birds flew from the enclosure and the count of Ortenburg appeared, ready to take on the opponents of Isabelle and all maidens. He appeared "like a hero."[261] One more group joined in and then the various knights battled. This part of the tournament was apparently of little interest to the herald who described this scene: one paragraph briefly describes how the men "fought in a knightly way."[262]

The individual combats were followed by a large free-for-all in which 35 knights from each side went after each other with lances and swords. The combat became so intense, Francolin wrote, "…that one could have thought it was a real battle taking place."[263] But did Archduchess Elizabeth follow this tumult, or was her attention caught by a counter-performance which took place simultaneously on the margins of the tournament? It is of course not easy to reconstruct the thoughts of a five- (almost six!) year-old, but it is at least possible that she noticed the antics of the performer Marcolf, perhaps even more than the "knightly" hacking that was taking place at center stage.

Marcolf came into the yard riding backwards on a donkey. He (Marcolf) wore a green and red stuffed shirt. The donkey wore yellow and blue pants on all four legs. Marcolf would "spur" the animal on by

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[261] "*wie ein Held*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xvi, r.

[262] *"Ritterlich gestritten"* Francolin, *Thurnier Buch,* f. xvi, v. For a pictorial depiction by Hanns Sebald Lautensack, see "Primvs martialivm lvdorvum pedistris conflictvs" in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 82 (with description on p. 81). The giant stands with his tree in one corner of the fenced-off tournament yard, and the goddess is visible next to her "mountain" diagonally across from him. A number of boys (or dwarves?) scurry amongst the combatants, apparently picking up plumes or other objects the knights have lost. All of the windows of the *Hofburg* have faces depicted watching out, and a temporary balcony outside of five of the castle's first floor courtyard windows is packed with spectators. Some of the seats are elaborately decorated with tapestries. One section also has an awning. It is likely that this is where Archduchess Elizabeth and her mother María sat to watch the goings-on.

[263] "*daß einer hatt mögen erachten/ es were ein rechte Feldschlacht geschehen.*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xvii, v.

pulling its tail and the donkey, to express its disapproval of this type of activity, would from time to time throw the stuffed-shirt rider into the dirt. Francolin wrote that they, "all in all did much buffoonery that was really good to laugh at."[264] The name of the fool had biblical connotations and was tied to his opposite, King Solomon. Medieval and early modern German tales retold the story of the wise fool Marcolf whose riddles delighted.[265]

At the awards ceremony in the temporary ballhouse the next day, (the Festival of Corpus Christi), the highest awards were given out by two ladies from Queen María's court. A lady from the duchess of Bavaria's court handed out the third place cup, and Archduchess Magdalena, the eldest of Elizabeth's unmarried aunts, gave out the prize for fourth place—to her brother Archduke Ferdinand. A member of the female court at Innsbruck, Elisabeth Watzlerin, rounded out the award distributors on this evening. The dancing went on into the night. Little Archduchess Elizabeth was probably in bed for hours by the time the party ended around one a.m.

What is to taken from this first day of jousting at the Vienna Festival? It seems clear that the extravagance and pageantry would have been impressive for all involved but in this case especially for the two girls in the fancy seats: Elizabeth and her sister Anna. The spectacle of dozens if not hundreds of men entering the lists in defense of women's honor, and of the imposing goddess Isabelle persuading the judges with her words to release her champion (whose emancipation came complete with uncaged birds flying skyward) would be memorable to an impressionable almost-six-year-old. Many of these men were well known to the archduchess. They served her mother in the court at Neustadt. They directed the affairs regarding her day-to-day life, not simply in this extraordinary scene in Vienna. A spillover effect was inevitable. It affected these men's position at court. They had fought for or against women's honor. They were good members of Queen María's court, or they were not.

On the other hand, the contrast between the themes of the court celebrations, knightly love and honor, were strangely removed from

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[264] "*Trib in summa vil ganckleręy/ daß sein sehr gut zu lachen war/*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch,* f. xviii, r. Marcolfus and his donkey are visible in the depiction by Lautensack, "Primvs martialivm…" They cavort directly between the jousters and the castle spectators.

[265] Winkler, "Turnierbuch," p. 112.

the religious context of much of Elizabeth's existence. How did she negotiate the shifts between the world of Pentecost and the world of chivalric knights wearing maidens' sleeves on their heads? Her daily life, marked as it was by the rhythms of the ecclesiastical clock and calendar, was interwoven on these Spring, 1560 days with the exotic (not to say bizarre) world of "Mannerist" court entertainments. So it was for many.

On 13 June the religious context came again to the fore. It was Corpus Christi, a Christian festival which would go on to become central to Elizabeth's family's self-presentation. On this day in 1560, however, it served to underline the splits within the family and within the world of western Christians. A biblical text often read and commented on on this day, for example, Saint Paul's First Letter to the Corinthians, included lines such as, "But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the chalice." (I Corinthians 11:28) This passage could be interpreted, as Elizabeth's father Maximilian may have, to advocate the chalice for all, instead of the customary clerical reservation. It was an issue which had rent central Europe for almost two centuries and which continued to divide many Christians in the area.

According to Francolin, this morning in Vienna the emperor, his sons Ferdinand and Karl, and his son-in-law the duke of Bavaria attended Mass in Saint Stephen's Cathedral in the company of various ambassadors, courtiers, and clerics. No mention is made of the ladies of the court, but it is reasonable to assume that María and her two daughters were in the cathedral as well, perhaps participating from a second-storey oratory. If not, they were in a similar ceremony back at the castle chapel.[266] Significantly, Elizabeth's father Maximilian was not among those mentioned by Francolin as present at the Corpus Christi services in the cathedral. He may have given in and dismissed his controversial preacher, but he still maintained a clear and public distance from what many considered the orthodox religious position.

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[266] Corpus Christi festivals were later seen as particularly appropriate and beneficial for children. The compendium of central European customs and beliefs from the early twentieth century, the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, reports that in parts of Styria, maidens were to weave wreaths of greenery to wear on their heads when they visited church on Corpus Christi. These were to be signs of their continued virginity. In Bohemia, the branches and flowers used in the processions and celebrations as decoration were then taken home to be placed in the children's beds. Vol. 3 (1930–31), cols. 120–21.

Because of the rain outside that morning, the court processed three times within the cathedral, not through the streets of Vienna. Public processions were crucial and repeated opportunities for the old-school Christian party to "show the flag" in various circumstances. It must have been a disappointment for at least some at court to have to forego the chance to publicly proclaim their allegiance to the papacy's position on the question of the significance of the Host. Instead, only the artisans of the city took to the streets and put on the customary procession, led by the Carpenters Guild with a massive candle. The courtiers and diplomatic corps retired to their rooms to change for the evening's festivities celebrating the heroes of the previous day's tournament.

Elizabeth's family assembled for a mid-day banquet in the castle's ornately-decorated rooms. Francolin's account does not mention the presence of the emperor's grandchildren, and the illustration which he includes and mentions in his text also does not show any children present, so it is probable that Elizabeth, Anna, Rudolf, Ernst, Matthias, Maximilian, and Albrecht were not invited to these festivities. It is probable that the three youngest, none older than three and a half, were not even in Vienna. They were most likely safely in the care of their wet nurses and nursemaids back in Wiener Neustadt.

Francolin presents an appealing portrait of a happy emperor spending time with (most of) his children. Francolin's list omits mention of Archduke Ferdinand: had he excused himself because his secret, commoner wife was not able to attend? Queen María, as the ranking woman at the table, sat to Emperor Ferdinand's left. Francolin wrote, "the amount of happiness the Imperial Majesty…had at this meal (in which his beloved sons and daughters sat, something which he had not experienced for many years) I let anyone recognize."[267]

At that evening's entertainments in the dancehall, the Spanish ambassador Claudio Fernández Vigil de Quiñones, Conde de Luna, requested that the herald Francolin call a third tournament, to be held outside of the city.[268] This one would be a competition between knights wishing to show their devotion to their ladies. A contemporary depic-

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[267] "*Was die Keys. May. U. an diser Malzeit (in welcher ir geliebste Son un Töchter gesessen/ die er in vil jaren nit also beyeinander geschen) für ein freud gehabt hat/ laß ich menigklich erkennen.*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xix, r.

[268] The Conde de Luna was the Spanish ambassador to the imperial court from 1558–1563. For a list of the Spanish ambassadors during Elizabeth's lifetime, men who undoubtedly played a role in the life of Queen María and her children, see Edelmayer, *Söldner und Pensionäre*, p. 43.

tion of the Castle Bastion dancehall seems to show the moment when the diminutive chained Cupid is brought before the women of the court as the accused before the trial. At least two of the ladies kneel on the floor in the Portugese fashion.[269]

The jousts on horseback which were to be next on the Vienna Festival's program were put on hold while the castle yard was reorganized. The members of the court took the next few days off from the martial festivities. On the Friday following Corpus Christi, Ferdinand and others indulged in their desire to hunt and probably went riding off through the Danube River's marsh- and meadowlands in search of game. The weekend was quiet, except for the sound of the construction of the setting for the upcoming trial-by-arms of the little god Cupid. If Elizabeth had looked out the window of the castle, she would have seen the gallows being raised.

At the Sunday sermon, if it dealt with a popular Gospel text for that day, the congregation would have heard some discussion of Jesus' parable about the supper. A man had invited many to his table, but when the time came to dine, all the invitees had excuses as to why they could not come. One, for example, had said, "I married a wife, and therefore I cannot come" (Luke 14:20). The host, upon hearing that all his guests could not make it, told his servant to invite whomever he could find in the streets and countryside. The host continued, "…I say unto you, that none of those men that were invited shall taste of my supper" (Luke 14:24). What were the members of the Vienna castle congregation to take from such a text? Little Elizabeth clearly could not understand the reading or probably the sermon, but it is possible that she heard some discussion of related themes in the women's chambers: what role did marriage play in a Christian's life?

On Monday, 17 June, the trial by arms of the little god Cupid opened at high noon in the outer yard of the imperial castle. The gibbet stood ready and the god already stood on the sixth step leading to its noose. The rules of the engagement were that Cupid would take a step up or a step down depending on the results of each joust. There were 24 steps; 18 to go. Queen María's Lord High Chamberlain Francisco Lasso de Castilla served as one of the judges.[270]

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[269] In Dreger, *Baugeschichte*, ill. 101.

[270] A contemporary depiction of the "trial of Cupid" by Lautensack is reproduced in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 79. Two mounted knights carrying lances are just about to make contact. It appears that Cupid is awaiting his fate at about the ninth step at

As in the previous sections of Francolin's booklet on the Vienna Festival, the author seemed more interested in describing who participated and what they wore than the exact outcome of each course. His work also contains a relatively famous set of engravings illustrating the 45 coats of arms of the participants in this day's contests. Many of the same men who had fought on foot the previous week now rode in the jousts on the seventeenth. These included the queen's Master of the Horse Adam von Dietrichstein, Juan Alfonso Gastaldo, Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand, and others. The goddess participated, too, as did Mercury, complete with his winged helmet and staff.

The artificial mountain which had held the imprisoned knight the previous Wednesday was now transformed into a magical lair for another knight, this time on horseback, who appeared when the goddess struck the stones with her staff. His appearance was accompanied by mortar shots and fireworks from the mountain, as well as an impressive display of hydraulics which led to water being discharged from the technological wonder. Archduchess Elizabeth was getting quite a show, and one which gave central roles to female characters, even if the nominal centers of attraction were the male jousters.

The combats and feats of horsemanship ended with Cupid reaching the scaffold, but the executioner hesitated: should he place the noose around the little one's neck? Francolin reports that the spectators were cheering, some yelling yes, some no. The excitement of the moment, the fun of the contest, may have been dampened a bit by the credulity of the little archduchess as she watched. Did she know that it was all a show? To decide the matter, the women's champions sent a delegate to the ladies to ask if Cupid should be spared. In their royal box, the queen and archduchesses conferred with their women and decided, yes, they would extend refuge to the condemned, a decision which resulted in wild celebrations. A fireworks display followed before the show ended. Elizabeth had seen again the power of the queen's court: its ability to intervene in the judicial process, overturning the decision of the men's arms, was celebrated with the loud, smoky, and colorful demonstration of the power of gunpowder.

The jousts were then followed by a banquet and dancing in the temporary dancehall. At the dance, awards were again distributed to the

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the moment illustrated. The executioner stands close by his side. Between the action in the lists and the *Hofburg* stands a person on high stilts.

men by various ladies. One of Queen María's ladies, Margarita Lasso de Castilla, awarded the highest prize. She was the daughter of the Austrian noblewoman Polyxena von Ungnad and her husband the late Pedro Lasso de Castilla, Knight of the Order of Santiago. He had been a long-time member of Emperor Ferdinand's court, dating from the start of Ferdinand's stay in central Europe and had led Archduke Maximilian's court when the archduke had traveled to Spain to meet his bride, María.[271] Pedro had died when Archduchess Elizabeth was four. He was buried in the Augustinian church near the Vienna castle. The second anniversary of his death would be two days later, one of the days of rest and preparation between tournaments Two and Three. Prizes for second and third place were awarded by women from the Bavarian and archduchesses' courts respectively. The dancing and celebrating did not end until two the next morning.

These jousts in the yard by the castle were followed by three massive entertainments held outside of the city's walls on three of the next five days: 20, 23, and 24 June. The scale of these entertainments and the logistical know-how they required are impressive. The imperial court was clearly showing off its means and the way to do so was with thousands of soldiers and knights. The audience was partly the ambassadors, partly the participants, and partly the family members themselves. Francolin wrote that the emperor, Queen María "including her most-loved children," the emperor's daughters, and the duke and duchess of Bavaria were all present on the covered stage near the field where the battle would take place.[272] 31 years before, Ottoman troops had controlled these areas outside of Vienna's walls while unsuccessfully besieging the city.

On this June afternoon, a type a military exercise was put on. Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand commanded one side and her uncle Karl the other. In the preparations leading up to this staged battle, troops from Uncle Ferdinand's camp snuck into Uncle Karl's and stole an unattended cannon, much to the embarrassment of the younger brother. Before the battle started, Elizabeth's father King Maximilian appeared and ostentatiously reviewed each side's troops, showing everyone who was in charge among the three siblings. He dressed the squadrons of horse and ordered the inspection and firing of the cannons.

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[271] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 244–245.
[272] "*sampt Iren geliebsten Kindern*," Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xxxviii, r.

Members of María's court do not seem to have played a large role in this third day of battling. The large-scale mock battle with thousands of men reflected the new military world of the Ottoman wars, not the obsolescent world of knights in shining armor. Here cannons roared announcing their increasing role on the battlefields, battles so large they could no longer be held in a castle courtyard. Francolin devoted significant attention in his account of the day's activities to the undertakings of Elizabeth's father. While the audience for the battle that day was those people there, the audience for Francolin's report of it was much larger. This audience was shown a young king in charge. Francolin wrote that Maximilian "personally corrected things when deficiencies or disorder appeared among the riders and the foot soldiers."[273]

After the conclusion of the battle, the women were driven back to the city in their wagons where they watched another set of jousts before being treated to a review of some of the troops which had participated in the day's event. A hundred red and white uniformed arquebusiers paraded by followed by a hundred more in blue and white, showing off the emperor's firearm strength (much different from the swords shown off the week before.) Then seven platoons of infantry marched by, together with an array of artillery. Archduchess Elizabeth could not have known it, but she was seeing the results of a military revolution.

Francolin informs us that the emperor's grandchildren were present at the fourth tournament, held again outside of the city. So Elizabeth, her sister Anna, and at least some of her brothers had made their way (probably after Mass) that Sunday, 23 June to the decorated pavilions.[274] There, they found the tilting yard. In it stood two eighteen-foot tall statues, each on top of eight-foot pedestals. One, which faced the set of grandstands set up for the women of the court, depicted the goddess Venus. The second, depicting Mars, faced the emperor's box. Each statue extended an arm to the other, and together they held a crowned red heart. This portal marked an entrance to the "Bridge of All Lovers" and it was the knights' goal to earn, through victory, the right to cross this bridge.[275] The proclaimed rules stated that each

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[273] "*wo mangel oder unordnung an den Reutern und Fußknechten erschienen/ den selben gebessert*," Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xli, r.

[274] Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xlviii, r. The illustration on f. xvii, r. seems to illustrate this day's tournament.

[275] "*die Bruck aller Liebhaber*," Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xlvi, v.

knight would carry a wreath given to them by their lady. Upon entering the field, he would hang this wreath at his shield hanging on a tree in the corner. With a victory, the knight would be awarded a feather which gave him right of passage over the bridge. A loss, on the other hand, led to the loss of the wreath. A tie meant that the knight could leave as he had come.

The festivities began with the arrival of a ten or eleven-year-old girl from the Low Countries who wore a white dress and rode a white horse trimmed in gold and silver. Two heralds accompanied her carrying the Duke of Luna's coat of arms. The girl carried a picture of a Spanish maiden wearing a veil. The picture was covered with a red cloth on which was written, "[t]his cloth covers the most beautiful virgin in the world."[276] The girl rode to the tree where the shields hung, placed this picture there, and then took her place on stage to watch the day's events.

Next a horse trainer arrived who put on a remarkable display of horsemanship with horses belonging to Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand. The horses, at least the functional predecessors of today's famous stallions from the so-called Spanish Riding School in Vienna, an institution in its infancy in these years, could, according to Francolin, kneel and crawl with almost no instruction from the trainer. While they put on their show, two jesters rode around the scene making fun of the day's activities.

The published account of this fourth tournament goes into detail about who appeared in each group and what they wore. For example, the sixth party to arrive on the field included a wild masked man on horseback. The rider was brandishing a severed sheep's head "with skin and hair" accompanied by six wild forest people on foot.[277] They were all yelling and carrying a knight's wreath, armor and weapons. A Bohemian Royal Meat Carver (*fürschneider*) dressed as a goddess accompanied the warrior Count Claudio Trivulzio who was similarly dressed as a goddess. Trivulzio, from a famous Milanese family known for its military and Church service, rode to the grandstand and handed one of Queen María's ladies, Margarita Lasso de Castilla, a letter informing the court that the goddess wished to fight for her own

[276] "*Dise Deck bedeckt die aller schönste Jungkfraw/ so da in her gantze Welt ist.*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. xlviii, v.

[277] "*mit haut und har*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. li, r.

honor: "I want to take on personally anyone in regard to my honor, beauty and great virtue and prove that I am the most beautiful and virtuous maiden."[278] The wild people had apparently stolen her lover's weapons. She requested that the weapons be given to her that she could defend her honor personally. Lady Margarita intervened with the judges, asking them to allow such. They did.

The tenth party to arrive consisted of six Austrian noblemen dressed as women. They entered the field following one person playing a Polish bagpipe and another person playing drums. The six noblemen rode sidesaddle, three wearing white veils, boots, and hats with white bands, and three dressed in Spanish-style black dresses worn over their armor. Two of the riders were from the Puchheim and one from the Khevenhüller family. Another was an Eytzingen, also known at court. It is entirely possible that Archduchess Elizabeth recognized these funnily-(cross-)dressed warriors. Whose wreaths were they going to break their lances for? The fifteenth party featured two dwarves and the sixteenth centered on the beautifully-dressed knight Juan Alfonso Gastaldo. Don Juan, perched on a woman's saddle, wore an expensive Italian silver gown. His accessories featured a little blue feather that dangled on his forehead.

The last party was probably the one that Archduchess Elizabeth was most eagerly awaiting. It featured the unit commanders from Thursday's battle, Archdukes Ferdinand and Karl. They, surrounded mostly by the men from Ferdinand's Bohemian court, were accompanied by a dozen trumpeters and dozens of knights. Their arrival marked the start of the competitions. Francolin underlined the archdukes' bravery and prowess in the lists that day, together with that of other of the combatants, through which "they revealed to weak Christendom…how the princely highnesses and their knights, as the occasion would require, would courageously act against the blood hounds and hereditary enemy of Christendom [the Ottomans]."[279]

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[278] "*so wolt ich selbs umb mein Ehr/ schön unnd grosse Tugent wider mennigklich straiten/ und beweisen daß ich die schönest unnd tugenthafftigst Jungkfrauw sey.*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. li, v.

[279] "*…der schwachen Christenheit angezeigt/…wie sie ire Fürstliche Durchleuchtigkeit mit sampt iren Rittern mitlerzeit/ so es die not erfordern würd/ gegen den Bluthunden unnd Erbfeindt der Christenheir Fürstlich und unverzagt halten würden/*" Francolin, *Thurnier Buch*, f. lvi, r. Ottomans added: when the "hereditary enemy of Christendom" is mentioned in texts of the period, the Ottoman Empire is meant.

After the tournament's end, the court retired for another banquet and then dancing and the awards ceremony. As had been the case on previous days, members of the various female courts awarded the prizes. This time, perhaps not surprisingly given the lines above, the first prize was awarded by a lady of the queen's household to Archduke Karl. Second and third place prizes were awarded by members of the duchess of Bavaria's court. Fourth and fifth places were again the privilege of the queen and her ladies. Fifth prize was awarded by a Lasso de Castillo and went to the Spanish ambassador Luna who had called this tournament. Elizabeth's aunts' court awarded the sixth and final prize.

Francolin fails to mention whether or not Elizabeth, her sister, or their brothers were present at the fifth and final set of events put on in connection with this Vienna Festival.[280] The fifth day's activities seem to have been the most elaborate of the various "tournaments." On Monday, 24 June (the day immediately following the jousting on the field of the Bridge of All Lovers), Elizabeth's father Maximilian, Francolin duly reported, got up early, donned his armor, and inspected his troops. He breakfasted with the men before the rest of the court arrived. A small fake city complete with two large bastions, four churches, a wall and a palace had been built on an island in the Danube River and now Maximilian's troops were going to storm and capture it. Bombardments, naval assaults, and hand-to-hand combat all were included in the event. As in the contrast between event two (with Cupid and the executioner) and event three (with the large military formations and artillery) and again in contrast to event four (with the Bridge of All Lovers), this event represented more up-to-date versions of military engineering, tactics, and equipment.

The images and irony of this set of jousts in or near Vienna in June, 1560 are rather difficult to decipher. It seems that at least one of the author's goals in writing his account was to underline to others across Europe the war preparedness of the Habsburgs. A copy of an account of the festivities in 1560 is listed in the possession of the crucial Habsburg ally in the Empire, the elector August of Saxony, in 1574.[281]

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[280] A contemporary depiction of this day's activities is reproduced in Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, pp. 10 (detail) and 81. In the right foreground can be seen the covered spectator's viewing area. It is impossible to make out any individuals. A few women are depicted among the spectators. Some men have climbed out onto rocks in the river in order to get a better view.

[281] Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, p. 54.

But there is obviously much more "going on" here. Marriage negotiations were in full swing; the court celebrations with their themes of love and women's natures fit in with such discussions. Three of Elizabeth's six unmarried aunts at the festivities would marry within the next five years, and they would marry men whose families were represented at the Vienna Festival by ambassadors. Aunt Eleonore married the duke of Mantua in 1561; Aunt Barbara married the Duke of Ferrara in 1565; Aunt Johanna married the Duke of Tuscany the same year. Archduchess Elizabeth's other three aunts organized a religious house in Tyrol, choosing the second, churchly, world presented to Elizabeth as she grew up in Neustadt.

The prominent roles given to the Spanish ambassador and various Spanish participants (probably even including the horses which featured so prominently) reflected and reinforced the important role for these Iberians at the court of Elizabeth and her parents and grandfather. (They were not as important for her uncles.) There is also a remarkable separation of outward, gendered, appearance and physical success. Even the knights in women's clothes, be they goddesses or simply Spanish princesses, seem to have been treated as potential victors and legitimate contenders for damsels' hearts.

When the affects of courtly entertainments are discussed, it should be remembered that all of the observers and participants were not adults. The impact of the events, the choreography and iconography, had multiple audiences of multiple ages. In this case, special attention should be given to the two archduchesses, Elizabeth and her older sister Anna, who had ridden in the ladies' wagons out to the joust and who had experienced and no doubt would remember the day's events. It is even possible that these memories shaped future actions. Their concepts of love, proper female behavior, and proper male behavior, all were influenced by the models presented to them at such events, not just in the books they read or were read, or in the sermons they heard (and did or did not understand). Having an older sister also meant that the things that Elizabeth did not understand could be interpreted to her by Anna, either at the time of the events of 1560, or later over the course of their next decade-long stage of apprenticeship to be queens.

Reading girls

This is not to say that the reading which the girls were assigned did not have any effect or that it should be discounted when discussing Elizabeth's upbringing. After the exciting weeks of festivals in her grandfather's residence city, the archduchess and her family returned to their relative exile in Wiener Neustadt. There, life returned to its normal routine. As 1560 passed, word got out that her mother was again with child, so the routine of bleedings and prayers, discussions about godparents, and discussions about names could begin again. Elizabeth and Anna returned to their embroidery and reading lessons, played in the castle gardens and probably saw to their little brothers Matthias, Maximilian, and Albrecht, at least a bit. The women in Neustadt Castle probably also, from time to time, commented on the lack of news of the birth of any cousins in Iberia.

It is not totally clear of what the girls' formal education consisted. By this time, their older brothers had been removed from the women's quarters and were in the care of an Austrian nobleman. Talk was already about that the two older brothers should be sent to Spain to acquire the necessary polish (and to escape the unhealthy religious atmosphere of central Europe and Maximilian's free-thinking court). As long as Elizabeth's aunt Elisabeth and uncle Philip had no children, Elizabeth's two brothers were high in the line of accession to the Spanish thrones, so it was important that they learn about the conglomeration of Iberian, Italian, Burgundian, and American territories over which they may have to some day rule.

This Spanish orientation no doubt marked the archduchess Elizabeth's education. It is not known by what primer the archduchess was taught, but it probably was not too different from the one Ludwig Pfandl found bound with a copy of Cristóbal de Castillejo's *Dialogo de mujeros* (1546 edition) in the Augsburg city library.[282] This eight-page pamphlet, without date and without author, comes from mid-century. Titled *Cartilla para mostrar a leer a los moços*, its title page showed school scenes. The primer contains the abc's with monosyllabic reading exercises as well as the daily prayers in Latin and Spanish. These include the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Creed, the Salva Regina, the Confession, a mealtime prayer, and the Magnificat. This most likely

[282] "Ein unbekannter Castillejo-Druck," *Revue hispanique* 56 (1922), pp. 350–355.

would have been a good portion of Archduchess Elizabeth's formal schooling in her early years.

In addition, there is reason to believe that some influence of the Dominican friar Luis de Granada's spirituality could be found in Elizabeth's religious education. Her grandfather's library probably contained a copy of the 1555 Salamanca edition of Granada's *Libro de la oracion y meditacion…*[283] Elizabeth owned some of the popular friar's works at her death.

When it came to general issues about the roles of women in the world, Elizabeth's upbringing was clearly influenced by the tournaments and ceremonies in which she participated such as the Vienna Festival of 1560. These, in turn, were organized following literary schema with which she may have also been made familiar in her education. These may have included, as mentioned above, the works of Juan Luis Vives, and they may also have included the works of the poet buried in the abbey church next to her residence, Cristóbal de Castillejo. As also previously mentioned, Castillejo had not published much in his lifetime (his courtly love poetry, for example, apparently circulated in manuscript form only), but his work *Dialogo de mujeres* had seen multiple editions, first in Venice in 1544 and then later in Spain. There were at least eight separate editions printed before Elizabeth turned fourteen.[284]

The general theme of the work parallels strongly the organization of much of the Vienna Festival. Castillejo discusses the roles of women in the form of a dialogue between two men. One, Alethio, points out women's faults and the other, Fileno defends women. The two debaters are depicted in the frontispiece to the 1548 edition as an old man (Alethio), and a young man with sword and a plumed hat (Fileno). Alethio supposedly knows more of the world and the ways of women than the young, romantic Fileno, who is placed on the defensive in his defense of women from the scholarly attacks of his elder.

If Elizabeth had ever read or heard the arguments presented, she would have heard from Alethio rather standard literary arguments pointing to women's supposed weaknesses such as vanity, cruelty, inconsistency, and talkativeness.[285] His counterpoint would use exam-

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[283] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 157.

[284] Beccaria Lago, *Vida y obra*, pp. 537–538.

[285] See Rogelio Reyes Cano's introduction to Cristóbal Castillejo, *Diálogo de mujeros* (Madrid, 1986), p. 30.

ples from experience to deny his elder's claims. The dialogue, like the tournament, was a form which allowed both sides to be presented so that, even if the harsh anti-women sentiments appear to be better documented and win out on paper, the mere existence of an alternative point of view is admitted, and could be seized upon.

If Elizabeth had been exposed to the ideas expressed by Castillejo in this work, she also would have been presented with a number of different life stages and roles for women. While Castillejo discussed women in general, he also divided them into various groups and discussed the specific aspects and attitudes of each. These groups could be seen as a palette from which a woman could choose. They included married women, virgins, nuns, widows, prostitutes. This was a palette that Archduchess Elizabeth probably learned as she was growing up. She most likely was not exposed to the stronger side of Castillejo's works, where he stressed some of the more sexual aspects of women. These were removed by censors in some of the earliest editions of his writings.[286]

[286] Ludwig Pfandl, "Dialogo de Mugeres," *Revue hispanique* 52 (1921), pp. 361–429. Pfandl found an uncensored 1544 version of the dialog in the State Library in Munich. Reyes Cano points to one example when he discusses what Castillejo considered the overactive sex drive of nuns, what Castillejo apparently called the "venenoso gusano de Cupido." Reyes Cano, introduction, *Dialogo de mujeres*, p. 39.

CHAPTER TWO

MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE TUMULTUOUS 1560'S

A new phase of Archduchess Elizabeth's life began in late Summer, 1560. The French crown sent an ambassador, the cleric Bernardin Bochetel, to reside in the new imperial residence city on the Danube.[1] One of his responsibilities was to represent Queen Marie Stuart and King Francis in negotiations over the possible marriage of the king's younger brother, Charles Maximilien, to one of Queen María and King Maximilian's daughters. Although formally the royal couple was in charge of the shaky French kingdom, it generally was known that the dowager queen, Catherine de Medici, widow of King Henri II, was very influential in the governance of the realm. Queen Catherine had already managed the marriage of her eldest daughter, Elisabeth, to the widowed king of Spain and now further royal matches were on her mind.

Vienna was an important site of the European-wide "marriage market" of the period.[2] As pointed out in reference to the Vienna festivities a few months earlier, there were numerous Habsburg archduchesses and archdukes who were marriageable, either immediately for older suitors or sometime in the future for potential marriage partners of

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[1] On Bochetel, see Fleury Vindry, *Les Ambassadeurs Français permanents au XVI siècle* (Paris, 1903), p. 38; Jean Baillon, *Les affaires étrangères et le corps diplomatiques français* (Paris, 1984), p. 158. The Bochetel family was related to the Castelnaus. See "Histoire genealogique de le maison des Bochetels," pp. 141–148 in Michel de Castelnau, *Mémoires*. J. Le Laboureur, ed. (Brussels, 1731), vol. 3. The Venetian ambassador Giacomo Soranzo, who had been at the imperial court since September, 1559, reported the arrival of Bochetel in a dispatch dated Vienna, 21 October, 1560: Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 157. The Spanish ambassador Luna had already sent the news back to King Philip: see his dispatch dated Vienna, 6 August, 1560 in Marqués de la Fuensanta del Valle, et al., eds., *Correspondencia de los príncipes de Alemania con Felipe II, y de los embajadores de éste en la corte de Viena* (Madrid, 1891), vol. 1, pp. 166–167. Luna reported that the ambassador's primary tasks were to help keep peace between the Christian powers in order to defend the true religion, to discuss the reopening of the Church council in Trent, and to work to stop the aid princes in the Empire were giving to rebels and heretics in the French kingdom.

[2] The general context from the point of view of the emperor is sketched in "Ferdinands Heiratspolitik," pp, 289–297 in Alfred Kohler, *Ferdinand I. 1503–1564. Fürst, König und Kaiser* (Munich, 2003).

more tender age. Elizabeth, barely six years old, needed about a decade before she was eligible for a wedding ring, but she had six maiden aunts and an unmarried uncle, in addition to her older sister Anna and five brothers. The family commissioned a series of cast medallions representing the elder line of archduchesses from the court sculptor Hans Wild.[3] Emperor Ferdinand's daughters were in circulation. Representatives of up-and-coming Italian duchies as well as foreign kingdoms and principalities trolled the waters in Vienna and Innsbruck hoping for an advantageous match.

The problem for the eight archduchesses was not their lineage: they carried one of the most distinguished names on the continent and had impeccable political ties across Europe. It was the financial situation of their father and grandfather Emperor Ferdinand. The Ottoman wars and frontier defenses, as well as the designs on Transylvania, drained treasure from his coffers—and from the wedding chests of his daughters and granddaughters. All of them could expect lessened dowries as a result. From their perspectives, this made the likelihood of a religious vocation greater. The lower potential dowries, as well as the relative abundance of archduchesses, also meant that the "market" was oversupplied. There were only so many prime matches to be had. Two of the other sisters had already become queens of Poland, and another two were duchesses of significant lands in the Empire: Bavaria and Jülich-Cleves.[4]

Elizabeth's father had been dabbling with the idea of a French match for one of his daughters for some time. Reportedly, the issue

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[3] Fritz Dworschak, "Die Renaissancemedaille in Österreich," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen Wien* NF 1 (1926), pp. 213–244. Here, p. 221. For further illustrations, see Georg Habich, *Die deutschen Schaumünzen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1929–1934), part 1, vol. 2, p. 469. Habich speculates that these medals were produced on the occasion of the marriage of Elizabeth's aunt Eleonora to the duke of Mantua. One (Nr. 3224) shows Eleonora as an archduchess and one (Nr. 3220) identifies her with Mantua. The monogramist "AB" also produced medals showing Aunts Anna, Eleonora, Katarina and Margaretha. See pp. 345–346 (Nrs. 2372–2375).

[4] Hamann, *Habsburger*, p. 87: Elizabeth's aunt Elisabeth (1526–1545), her grandparents' eldest child, had married King Sigismund II August in 1543. She died two years later and is buried in Vilnius. Queen Elisabeth's sister Katharina was Sigismund's third wife. They married two years before Archduchess Elizabeth was born (pp. 236–237). Archduchess Anna had married the Duke of Bavaria, Albrecht V, in Regensburg in 1546 (pp. 54–55). They lived primarily in Munich. Archduchess Maria also was married that year in Regensburg. Her husband was Duke Wilhelm V "the Wealthy" of Jülich-Cleve (p. 288). This couple was mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with Christian Napponäus, one of the bishops of Wiener Neustadt.

had been on the table as far back as the Habsburg family conference in Brussels four years before.[5] King Maximilian's recently-deceased aunt Eleonore (1498–1558) had worn the French queens' crown.[6] Another such marriage alliance would further cement María and Maximilian's positions among Europe's royals, positions which in 1560 were still none too secure. The idea which received significant if not final support centered on two marriages: Archduchess Anna, Elizabeth's elder sister, would marry María's nephew Carlos, the sickly only child of her brother Philip. Anna would therefore be in line to become Queen of Spain. Archduchess Elizabeth was to marry one of the younger sons of Catherine de Medici and Henri II of France. By 1560, after the accidental death of King Henri and news of the poor health of his heir King Francis, the prospects of a marriage with the young duke of Orleans, Charles Maximilien, took on new meaning. His bride would be close to claiming the French queens' throne.

Even though relations between France and Spain had warmed, as the peace treaty of 1559 and the marriage the following year showed, Dowager Queen Catherine would continue to be wary of the intentions of her son-in-law Philip. France was surrounded on many sides by territories controlled by the Spanish king, whether in Iberia, northern Italy, or across the Burgundian lands. Catherine chose to at least encourage differences of opinion between the various members of the Habsburg dynasty by looking eastward to the family of Philip's sister María (who at this point was second in line for the throne) and sending an ambassador to Vienna.

Philip, on the other hand, felt that Habsburg relations with the Valois were sufficiently supported by his marriage to the pre-pubescent Elisabeth from that house. He advocated a Portuguese match for his niece Archduchess Elizabeth. Philip's nephew Sebastian, the six-year-old son of Elizabeth's aunt Dowager Princess Juana of Portugal, was

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[5] Bibl, *Maximilian II.*, p. 79. An excellent overview of much of the diplomatic maneuvering covered in this chapter can be found in Maximilian Lanzinner, *Friedenssicherung und politische Einheit des Reiches unter Kaiser Maximilian II. (1564–1576)* (Göttingen, 1993). See pp. 216–222: "Der Primat der kaiserlichen dynastischen Politik: die spanische und französische Heirat." See also Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz,* vol. 1: pp. 72–81.

[6] On Dowager Queen Eleonore (1498–1558), who had also been Queen of Portugal (1519–1521), see Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 76–77. She had left her widow's seat in Brussels with her brother Emperor Charles when he retired to Spain in 1556 and is buried in Badajoz. Eleonore was the second wife of King Francis I. They married in 1530 and he died in 1547. She had no children with Francis.

the proposed bridegroom.[7] In the absence of daughters of his own, King Philip saw his sister's daughter as a means of reinforcing his kingdoms' ties to the important seafaring land next door and its rulers from the House of Aviz. Little Sebastian, Elizabeth's potential husband, was the nominal ruler of the Portuguese empire. His grandfather King John III had died in 1557 and his father Crown Prince John in 1554, shortly before his son's birth. King John had been the brother of Archduchess Elizabeth's grandmother Isabel. The Venetian ambassador had reported already the year before, in 1559, that Philip had dangled the prospects of the Spanish and Portuguese marriages before Maximilian as incentives to change his religious leanings.[8]

These were the heady ties which were being discussed for Elizabeth as she was growing up. Would she become queen of Portugal and thereby participate in governing its vast empire, reaching into the Americas, to Africa, India and China? Or would she marry a French prince with good prospects to inherit the throne?

The prospects of Duke Charles Maximilien de Valois changed dramatically only weeks after the French ambassador Bochetel arrived in Vienna to continue discussions about the relations between France and Emperor Ferdinand. On 5 December, 1560, King Francis died, widowing Marie Stuart and putting Catherine de Medici into the official role of regent. The ten-and-a-half-year-old duke ascended the throne as King Charles IX. Now both of the prime candidates for the hand of archduchess Elizabeth were at least nominal rulers of two of Europe's most important kingdoms. For the next decade the archduchess would hear of the slow and shifting progress in the marriage negotiations concerning her.[9] Her childhood and early teenage years were marked

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[7] On Elizabeth's aunt Juana, see Villacorta Baños-Garcia, *Jesuita* and Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 183–184.

[8] Giovanni Soranzo to the doge. Vienna, 19 Dec., 1559. In Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 127.

[9] The Spanish ambassador to France, Perrenot, wrote King Philip repeatedly in early 1561 with news of various marriage ideas floated by Dowager Queen Catherine. These included a match between the newly-widowed Marie Stuart or Catherine's daughter Marguerite with the Spanish heir Carlos. Catherine preferred the latter. Mention of a possible match with one of the daughters of King Maximilian was also made. See Perrenot to Philip II from Orleans, 12 January, 1561, in de la Fuensanta del Valle, et al., *Correspondencia*, vol. 1, pp. 31–36; report of Perrenot and Manrique to Philip II from Orleans, 28 January, 1561 (p. 46); report of same to same from Orleans, 1 February, 1561 (p. 56); report of Perrenot to Philip II from La Ferté, 26 May, 1561 (p. 230).

by uncertainty in this regard, but the names of Charles and Sebastian were the most often mentioned candidates for her hand.

Almost two months later, another name was thrown into the discussions. Papal representatives had arrived in Vienna to discuss the reopening of the much-awaited church council in Trent (it had been called two months before) and to enlist Emperor Ferdinand in a new campaign against the Ottomans. Some reports suggested that Pope Pius, who had served with the papal troops in Hungary back in the 1540's and was intent on getting a wide alliance of powers together to counter the Ottoman threat, wanted to buttress the general Christian cause through a marriage between Elizabeth's uncle Archduke Charles and the dowager queen of France and reigning queen of Scotland, Marie Stuart.[10] According to the Venetian ambassador, the papal representatives Zaccaria Delfino (who had already served as nuntio to the royal court of Ferdinand back in the mid-1550's) and Giovanni Francesco Commendone suggested during their brief visit that one of María and Maximilian's daughters marry a Medici prince from Florence in order to reinforce ties between the Empire and that important Italian principality.[11] Later that spring, Elizabeth came up in Catherine de Medici's correspondence with her ambassador Bochetel: if possible, Archduchess Anna was to be proposed as a bride for the new king, Charles; her younger sister Elizabeth could be proposed as the match with the crown prince of the minor kingdom of Navarre, Henri of Bourbon.[12]

Elizabeth's future was in others' hands. She dutifully went about her schooling and undoubtedly discussed the latest developments with her sister Anna as the two of them prepared to leave home to represent their family abroad. At least in these early years of the 1560's, the younger sister seems to have been dealt the more difficult hand. There was little question that, in order to reinforce the ties between

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[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 180, note 5.

[11] Soranzo to Doge, Vienna, 22 Jan., 1561. *Ibid.*, pp. 179–180. King Philip of Spain also became an advocate of a Habsburg-Medici match. Kohler, *Ferdinand I.*, p. 293. This was partly due to Spanish holdings in the north of the Italian peninsula and partly to a desire to peel France away from its ally.

[12] Catherine de Medici to Bishop of Rennes, Fontainebleau, 11 April, 1561. In Hector de La Ferrière, ed., *Lettres de Catherine de Medici* (Paris, 1880), vol. 1, pp. 186–187. See also her letter from St. Germain-des-Prez dated 6 June, 1561 dealing in part with the same issue: pp. 203–204. A special French representative, François de Scépeaux de Vieille-Ville, was in Vienna in late April to discuss possible matches. Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, p. 392, note 2.

the two branches of their family, the Spanish heir Carlos was to marry his cousin Anna, Catherine de Medici's ideas notwithstanding. Anna would then return to the land of her birth to become Queen of Spain. Neither of the young archduchesses could have imagined how strangely twisted those plans would become.

Castle life

Life in Wiener Neustadt Castle continued as it had for Elizabeth and the other women of the court. Confident in his prospects, her father Maximilian spent some of the time reorganizing the court staffs, composing new instructions for officials such as the Lord High Steward, the Grand Chamberlain, the Master of the Horse, and so on. New sets of rules governing the offices of the Grand Marshall and the Master of the Hunt (*Obirsthofjägermeister*) probably also date from the first couple of years of the decade. This last office was undergoing a change which may have had some effects on the life of the archduchess as she grew up: the style of the hunts undertaken at the Habsburgs' central European courts was changing from the open-field pursuit of earlier ages to the so-called "closed hunts" (*eingestellten Jagden*) introduced by the Master of the Hunt Hans von Scherffenberg in 1559–1560.[13]

These "closed hunts" of Elizabeth's childhood required massive expenditures. Men would erect fenced enclosures before canopied shooting stands into which game was driven by beaters and dogs that had fanned out through the hunting parks. The terrified game would be brought down by the noble hunters waiting in the shade. Instead of a chase after a wild boar or stag through thickets and woods in almost individual pursuit, hunting was becoming a staged court event complete with spectators similar to those of the entertainments described as part of the Vienna Festival of 1560. As at those entertainments,

[13] Michaela Laichmann, *Die kaiserlichen Hunde. Das Rüdenhaus zu Erdberg in der Organisation der kaiserlichen Jägerei in Niederösterreich 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 2000), p. 10. On the changes in the various instructions for court officials, including the Master of the Hunt, see Karl Leeder, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des K. u. K. Oberstjägermeisteramtes," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 98 (1909), pp. 473–495. Here, p. 475. Scherffenberg's brother Erasmus took over as Master of the Hunt in Spring, 1562 and would remain in that office throughout Elizabeth's childhood and early teenage years. (p. 479).

members of the court such as Archduchess Elizabeth participated as part of the audience when King Maximilian and his comrades-in-arms took aim at the hares, deer, boars, or foxes which shot out of the woods and into their sight.

One by-product of this new style of hunting was the development of a set of dog kennels in the area around Vienna where hundreds of hounds were bred for use in royal and imperial service. Huntsmen would train and own their own lead dogs, but the beating of the bushes for game required packs, not single, skilled hunting dogs. Hunting, like military service, now required skill at leading large numbers, not simply personal virtuosity with weapons. In addition, skill at breeding was needed, as it was for the cavalry steeds used in the Hungarian campaigns against the light horse of the Ottoman armies and raiders. Hunting, like an early modern army, also required a supply infrastructure. Logistical challenges were presented by the necessity to house and feed the hunting hordes. Bakers specifically responsible for the production of dog biscuits, the hounds' primary food, were placed on staff, and standing orders were in with local mills for the flour the dogs' bakers required. Large amounts of wood for fuel for the bakers' ovens also had to be requisitioned from the Habsburgs' forests around their residence city.

One of the primary locations for Habsburg hunting in the period was Castle Ebersdorf, not far from Vienna. Court records indicate that Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Ferdinand was there twice in May, 1561, most likely to hunt.[14] The art historian Fritz Dworschak theorized that the gardens depicted in an important limestone relief of Queen María and her husband Maximilian dated 1560 might show them at the gardens in Ebersdorf.[15] His argument was based on the exotic animals depicted. These include a peacock, a camel, and an elephant.[16] Elizabeth grew up in a world filled with animals, either the hundreds of dogs in the imperial kennels at places like Ebersdorf (and

[14] Stälin, "Aufenthaltsorte Ferdinands I.," p. 394.

[15] Dworschak, "Renaissancemedaille," p. 224 (with ill.).

[16] Maximilian had reportedly brought the first elephant to central Europe when he and María travelled there from Spain after their marriage. Depictions of elephants were also important art objects in these courts. For an example of a bronze elephant from the period now in the Vienna Art Historical Museum's Kunstkammer, see Joachim Bahlcke and Volker Dudeck, eds., *Welt-Macht-Geist. Das Haus Habsburg und die Oberlausitz 1526–1635* (Görlitz, 2002), p. 367 (with ill.).

then Erdberg, another town near Vienna with a significant kennel) or those in the menageries stocked with exotica sponsored by her father.[17]

The relief of Elizabeth's parents shows them standing facing each other on either side of a fountain. It is a rather idyllic depiction of the contexts of the little archduchess's life when she was around six years old. The gardens outside Wiener Neustadt Castle were hunting grounds and places of recreation. If Elizabeth did not often get to Ebersdorf as a young child, she did get to explore the world of gardens and hunting parks just beyond the walls of her primary residence. While hunting dogs were not part of her everyday life within the castle, lapdogs probably were: a famous family portrait of her parents and older siblings by the artist Giuseppe Arcimboldo, painted only a year or so before Elizabeth's birth, shows a small dog obediently raising its paw to Queen María as the queen places her bejeweled left hand on the head of Archduchess Anna. Archduke Rudolf, wearing what appears to be a Hungarian hussar's cape and Archduke Ernst in his cradle are depicted behind Anna.[18]

Structured to a large extent by the liturgical calendar and cut off to a great extent from the world outside of the castle and its gardens, Archduchess Elizabeth's life at court with her older sister and little brothers Matthias, Maximilian, and Albrecht would have been filled with music, particularly the Flemish polyphonic compositions favored by their father. The madrigals and motets sung by the boys and men of the chapel choirs would have reverberated warmly through the castle confines.

Musical education was an important part of the training to be a princess. Elizabeth's grandfather, mother, and father all kept musical staffs. The chaplains of her mother's court in particular would have been charged with the musical education of her children, although it seems that at times the distinctions between the staffs were rather blurred, with men working in some capacity for María employed at different but related chapel positions for Maximilian.

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[17] The early modern history of the kennels at Erdberg is the main theme of Laichmann, *kaiserlichen Hunde*. See pp. 12–13 for the details of its operations in the years 1564–1565. The permanent staff included a kennel supervisor (*Rüdenmeister*), a baker, and eight boys who were on staff all year round. An additional fourteen staff members were hired as temporary assistants for half the year. 200 adult dogs were kept at the Erdberg kennels over the winter.

[18] A color reproduction of this famous portrait is to be found in Heller and Vocelka, *Private Welt*, p. 194.

The most famous composer active at the court at the time was Maximilian's favorite, Jacobus Vaet. Vaet had been born in Courtrai in the Low Countries around 1529 and had received his initial education in the exciting and influential musical scene there. Vaet was probably recruited to the Vienna courts by the head of Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand's musical establishment, Petrus Maessins. From Ghent, Maessins headed Ferdinand's chapel choir from 1546 until the musician's death in a coach accident in 1562. He had been in military service and participated in the successful defense of Vienna back in 1529 before campaigning in Africa with Habsburg troops and entering the service of Elizabeth's aunt Mary, the dowager queen of Hungary who had left that troubled kingdom to rule the Low Countries. By 1543, Maessins stood in service to King Ferdinand, to whom Mary had recommended him. The chapel was an important avenue for social advancement for gifted boys. Some of Maessins' students went on to study at the university in Vienna and others such as Vaet received places at other Habsburg courts, including the ones around Queen María and King Maximilian in Wiener Neustadt.[19]

Vaet composed and published extensively and was well respected by his contemporaries. The court's records reveal that he had contacts with some of the other leading composers of his time, including men such as Orlando di Lasso at the Bavarian ducal court of Elizabeth's aunt and uncle and Giaches de Wert, who was active in Mantua. Jacobus Regnart sang under Vaet's direction in the court choir, and the work of the composer Johannes de Cleve, who later headed Elizabeth uncle Karl's choir in Graz, shows Vaet's influence.[20] Vaet, like Cleve, worked almost exclusively in the more serious forms of court composition, forms which included religious and political texts set to music.

One of the driving themes behind many of the compositions of the period was the close relationship between the music composed and the words which the music conveyed. The most popular form, and one which Vaet and the others at María's and Maximilian's courts composed regularly, was the motet. Musicologist Todd Michael Borgerding has described this form as a "medium of religious expression," a

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[19] Othmar Wessely, "Beiträge zur Lebensgeschichte von Pieter Maessins," pp. 437–451 in Robert Mühlher and Johann Fischl, eds., *Gestalt und Wirklichkeit: Festgabe für Ferdinand Weinhendl* (Berlin, 1967).

[20] Milton Steinhardt, *Jacobus Vaet. Sämtliche Werke* (Graz, 1961) vol. 1, p. v. See also his *Johannes de Cleve, 'Missa rex babylonis venit ad lacum.' Jacobus Vaet, 'Motette rex babylonis venit ad lacum'* (Graz, 1960).

"para-liturgical genre" performed with "extra-liturgical considerations."[21] Archduchess Elizabeth would have regularly heard religious and political texts set to music in elaborate polyphonic arrangements. Performed during court processions and Masses, the religious and political motets were in some ways a "soundtrack" to her early life. As she learned to read words and read and perform music, the interconnectedness of these forms of expression was repeatedly revealed.

The Spanish musical theorist Juan Bermudo expressed this popular idea about the relationship between words and texts in his 1555 work *Declaración de instruments*:

> …everything said in the text that can be imitated in music, one should imitate in the composition.… Wherever there is an idea that commands attention, such notes should be put down so that, in everything and for everything, they are very much in agreement with the text.… The composer who wishes to compose correctly must first understand the text, and make it so that the music serves the text, and not the text the music.[22]

For a young girl struggling with music and language lessons, this intertwining of the two could have had particular significance. Music was placed in the service of texts, and words were intertwined into elaborate acoustic experiences. More and more voices were brought together in complex ways until impressive and moving effects resulted. There were of course times during which limits were placed on the display of compositional and vocal virtuosity, times such as Lent when reflection was not to be disturbed by such effects, but overall the experience of sound in Wiener Neustadt Castle's chapels and elsewhere in the city must have been both emotionally and intellectually challenging.

Jacobus Vaet published a number of his works in 1562 when Elizabeth was eight years old. Others had appeared earlier and some were part of a posthumous publication in 1568. Unlike his Masses or hymns, which were not published during his lifetime, apparently he or his publisher (or both) felt it profitable to make his religious motets available to a wider audience than the ones at the courts of the Queen and King of Bohemia ruling in Wiener Neustadt. His unpublished works during his lifetime included eight "Salve Regina" settings and

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[21] *The Motet and Spanish Religiosity ca. 1550–1610* (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1997), pp. 7, 61.

[22] Quoted and translated in Borgerding*., Motet and Spanish Religiosity*, pp. 1–2.

a "Magnificat" probably from around 1560. His motet "Mater digna Dei" dates from 1562.[23] As with the physical decoration and settings of the chapels and churches in which the archduchess prayed in Wiener Neustadt, a clear and serious streak of Marian devotion was present in the music composed by Jacobus Vaet.

The lament of the "Salve Regina" ascends from the "exiled children of Eve" to the "Mother of Mercy." This lament from the "vale of tears" was, like the "Magnificat," with its quotation of Luke, Chapter 1, verses 46–55, an important part of Elizabeth's education. The Gospel passage speaks of the interchange with Elizabeth, the archduchess' namesake who recognized the Virgin and Her significance. It also points to a tension that would figure large in Elizabeth Habsburg's life: the tension between the riches and power to which she had been born and the models of modesty and asceticism to which she was exposed. As the "Magnificat" intoned, God "…hath regarded the humility of his handmaid [Mary]….He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble. He hath filled the hungry with good things; and the rich he hath sent empty away" [Luke 1:48, 52–3]. Archduchess Elizabeth grew up hearing men sing this woman's praises.

The Spanish religious scene from which Queen María came was rather unsettled. Shifting tides of approbation and suspicion marked waves of reform or innovation in the Christian communities there in the mid-sixteenth century. According to the historian of Spanish-Imperial relations Bohdan Chudoba, María's "own religious education had not been of the most dependable kind."[24] One of her confessors, Vicente de Rocamora, had been of Jewish background, for example, and later left Iberia to join the Jewish community in Amsterdam. When the independent orientation of María's husband King Maximilian is taken into consideration, it cannot be stated with certainty how orthodox a religious education the young archduchesses and archdukes received at the Wiener Neustadt court. (Of course orthodoxy was in general a topic of debate.)

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[23] Three CD's of music by Jacobus Vaet have been released by the Dufay Ensemble beginning in 2002. According to the liner notes from Volume 3 ("Jacobus Vaet. Salve Regina. Geistliche Motetten. Huldigungsmotetten" Freiburg/B.: Freiburger Musik Forum, 2005), "…there are not significant recordings of his works up until 2002 in the catalogues of the recording industry" (p. 9). The Vlaamse Polyfonie recorded two of his works, "O quam gloriosum est regnum," and "Salve Regina" in 1994: "Philippus de Monte en de Habsburgers," (Leuven: Davidsfonds/Eufoda).

[24] Bohdan Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire, 1519–1643* (Chicago, 1952), p. 107.

As an example of suspicious Spanish religious literature circulating in Austrian court circles, historian Christopher F. Laferl has pointed to an anonymous book dated 1559 which was in the court library. Titled *Dos informaciones muy útiles que contienen muy necesarios avisos para ser instruydo todo cristiano príncipe en la causa del evangelio*, the work was a defense of Protestant ideas. It was addressed to Philip II.[25] Suspicions concerning the religious ideas circulating in Maximilian's court led to María's brother Philip's insistence that Elizabeth's two older brothers be removed from this environment and sent to his court in Spain to be educated in what he considered to be a more orthodox manner. He suggested that Elizabeth accompany the boys. This would provide the children with the opportunity to become acquainted with the kingdoms and culture there in case they were assigned any political roles in Iberian governance.

One writer whose thoughts seem to have been current and popular in Neustadt was the confessor to Elizabeth's great aunt Dowager Queen Catherine of Portugal, the Dominican friar Luis de Granada (1504–1588).[26] A prolific author, Granada published a dozen books in the latter part of the 1550's, a period during which he also served as Provincial of the Dominican province in Portugal.[27] These books built on the foundations of popular Spanish spiritual literature from earlier in the century which had developed an emphasis on what Gillian Ahlgren has described in a book on the "politics of sanctity" of Teresa of Avila as "methodical mental prayer."[28] Avila read and recommended Granada's writings.

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[25] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 164–165. Laferl goes on to state that no further information about this book or its reception was available. It appears that it may be associated with the Spanish exile author Juan Pérez de Pineda (1480/90–1567), a Protestant writer with ties to Calvin at Geneva. Late in his life, Pérez de Pineda sought refuge with the dowager duchess of Ferrera, Renate. Klaus Reinhardt, "Pérez de Pineda, Juan," *Biographisch- Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon* (Herzberg, 1994), vol. 7, col. 189–191.

[26] Great Aunt Katharina (1507–1578) was the youngest daughter of Queen Juana of Castile and her husband duke Philip of Burgundy. She was the regent of Portugal and supervised the education of Elizabeth's potential husband, King Sebastian. Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 235–236.

[27] Jordan Aumann, "Louis of Granada: The Layman's Theologian," pp. 65–78 in Antonio García de Moral and Urbano Alonso del Campo, eds., *Fray Luis de Granada. Su obra y su tiempo* (Granada, 1993).

[28] Gillian T.W. Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), p. 18.

The general intellectual contexts of Avila's religious development, contexts for her initial plans for reforming the Carmelite Order in Spain by establishing new houses in the early years of the 1560's, are similar to the contexts in the Spanish enclave in Austria in which Elizabeth was growing up. Contemplation of the lives of Jesus and the saints and an emphasis on a type of interiority were probably characteristic of both places. Granada's hugely popular works are to be found in Austria and elsewhere in the Empire from very early on in his publishing career. They would be translated repeatedly into various European languages including French, German, Polish and English over the course of the next two decades.[29] An early edition dated 1555 of his *Libro de oración*, for example, was in the Vienna court library.[30] Jordan Aumann in his study of Granada's popularity quoted an unnamed contemporary writer who stated that "[w]ater girls carried his books under their arms and the market women read them as they waited to sell their merchandise."[31]

The democratic nature of Granada's writings, which were directed to the general literate population, was suspect in some ecclesiastical circles. Two of his books, *Libro de la oración* and *Guía de pecadores*, were placed on the list of prohibited books published by the Spanish inquisitor general Fernando de Valdés in 1559–1560.[32] This move by the authorities back in Iberia illustrates the complicated Christian world of Archduchess Elizabeth's childhood: what was proper religious thought or practice?

An illustration of this uncertainty is the conclusion to the controversy surrounding Elizabeth's father and his wish to receive the Sacrament of Communion in both kinds, with wine as well as the wafer. Even though he had agreed to send away his controversial preacher Pfauser the year before, King Maximilian continued to take the position that the reservation of the wine to the clergy was improper. In this, he was not without supporters throughout many of the Habsburgs' central European territories. Maximilian's father, the emperor, advocated limited papal permission to individuals wishing this dispensation.

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[29] Antonio García del Moral and Antonio Román de la Rosa, "Fray Luis de Granada, autor europea," pp. 247–284 in García de Moral and del Campo, *Fray Luis de Granada*.

[30] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 163–164.

[31] Aumann, "Louis of Granada," p. 65.

[32] Ahlgren, *Teresa of Avila*, p. 16.

It may be that Maximilian's position was a calculated one, particularly given the appeal his position had to the population in the Bohemian and parts of the Hungarian kingdoms. In 1561, Maximilian was eying his upcoming coronations as King of Bohemia and King of Hungary. These would put an end to his rather unclear status in regard to those kingdoms. Actions surrounding the birth of Elizabeth's new brother suggest that Bohemia was very much on the royal couple's mind in early 1561.

Queen María gave birth to another son in March, 1561. He was baptized with the name of Wenzel (Václav/Wenceslaus), the patron saint of the kingdom of Bohemia who had lived in the tenth century. The kings of Bohemia wore Saint Václav's crown and were ceremonially dressed in his burial chapel in Prague's Saint Vitus Cathedral. Even though Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand was still regent of the Bohemian lands, María and Maximilian made the none-too-subtle point with the name of their new son that their claim to the crowns associated with that kingdom was real. Elizabeth's parents already "ruled" this generation in the family. With six sons and two daughters by early 1561, they could look confidently to the future. Elizabeth's uncle may have been regent of the rich kingdom, but María and Maximilian were on their ways to becoming crowned as well as titular rulers there.

The previous, daughter-laden generation of Elizabeth's family also celebrated an important event in the early months of 1561: in April her 27-year-old aunt Eleonore, after some convincing, married the stooped duke of the important northern Italian territory of Mantua, Guglielmo. The duke was the brother of Eleonore's sister Katharina's deceased first husband. (Katharina was now unhappily ruling as queen of Poland and grand duchess of Lithuania.) The Mantuan match was the first of three key marriage alliances between the Habsburgs and various influential northern Italian families which would be celebrated in the next four years.[33]

Emperor Ferdinand continued his long-standing policy of using his daughters and soon his granddaughters to help buttress support in key regions of Europe. For Elizabeth and her family, her aunts' Italian courts would become important conduits of culture and courtiers. Northern Italy was a region where the Habsburg family's interests coincided in many ways (although there were frictions here as well).

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[33] Giancarlo Malacarne, *I Gonzaga de Mantova*, (Modena, 2006), vol. 3, pp. 240–242. Eleonore has only a brief entry in Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 77–78.

Elizabeth's uncle Philip in Spain looked westward to Portugal at times and her grandfather Ferdinand often had Hungary (or Transylvania) and Poland-Lithuania on his mind, but they both saw the importance of building and keeping clientele in northern Italy. This joint orientation was at times unsettling for the popes with their territorial interests on the peninsula.

As an expression of papal encouragement and support for Emperor Ferdinand, Pope Pius, perhaps unwisely, sent the emperor that year's Holy Sword, together with the Blessed Hat given to especially favored laymen.[34] Embarrassed and hoping not to appear too aligned with the papacy on the eve of important negotiations in the Empire concerning the succession of his son to the imperial throne, Ferdinand met the papal envoy in private audience and accepted the gifts without great fanfare.[35] This was the second such sword Elizabeth's father had received from a pope. He received the first in 1531 following the successful defense of the Austrian lands before the assaults of the Ottoman armies. Ferdinand also received papal permission to refound the Prague archdiocese which had been basically shut down as far as Rome was concerned in the time of previous century's Hussite wars.[36] The bishop of Vienna, Antonín Brus, was transferred to the new see that August. The court cleric Bishop Urban Sagstetter would be named Administrator of the Vienna diocese in Archbishop Antonín's absence.

Pope Pius IV's campaign to garner support at the imperial court was extended to Queen María later that spring. A papal envoy arrived from Rome in early May carrying the famous Golden Rose, the traditional papal gift and a sign of particular favor.[37] Elizabeth, not yet seven, would have seen a ceremony illustrating the special relationship her mother had with the Pope. The Golden Rose would stand as mute witness to this bond. It also served as a further part of the young girl's education.

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[34] On the Holy Sword and Blessed Hat, see Cornides, *Rose und Schwert*. On the 1561 gift to Emperor Ferdinand: p. 117. See also Heinrich Modern, "Geweihte Schwerter und Hüte in den kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 22 (1901), pp. 127–159. Here, p. 144.

[35] Laubach, *Ferdinand I*, p. 410.

[36] For an introduction to the Utraquists in Bohemia at this time, see Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way. The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Baltimore: 2003).

[37] Cornides, *Rose und Schwert*, p. 116 incorrectly identifies the recipient as Emperor Ferdinand's wife Anna who by this time had been dead for over a decade.

During 1561, Bishop Urban was sent on a fact-finding mission to Venice in order to inquire into Orthodox Christian rites and that church's practice of clerical marriage.[38] Elizabeth's grandfather was trying to develop arguments to be used by imperial representatives such as Archbishop Antonín at the upcoming council, arguments which might help win compromises on these key issues of clerical celibacy and Communion in both kinds. By the end of the year, King Maximilian took Bishop Urban onto his staff as his court preacher and the Spanish ambassador Luna was reporting to King Philip in Spain that Maximilian had agreed to raise his children as Roman Catholics.[39] Elizabeth's father received papal approval of his request to communicate in both kinds and within months would also agree not to leave the Church of Rome. The way was now clear for his accession to the various thrones to which he laid claim.[40]

In October, Queen María's Master of the Horse Adam von Dietrichstein was sent on a secret mission to Rome to talk things over with Pope Pius. Ostensibly traveling in the service of the queen in order to obtain papal indulgences relating to her chapel, Dietrichstein was charged with obtaining papal permission for Maximilian to receive the sacrament in both kinds, as he wished.[41] The pope had called a continuation of the Trent council in November of the previous year and was intent on cultivating imperial support for the successful conclusion of the enterprise, even though the emperor and the French regent were not fully in support because of domestic difficulties with Protestants in their lands. There were disputes and discussions over issues such as invitations to Protestants to participate, whether or not this council should be seen as a continuation of the previous sessions or as a new council, and the role of national councils *vis-à-vis* the one in Trent. Eventually, fearing too close of a Spanish-Austrian alliance on the subject, Catherine de Medici withdrew her opposition to the council's continuation. She was, however, more interested than ever in ways to split the Habsburg coalition.

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[38] Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, p. 313.

[39] Wolfsgruber, *k. u. k. Hofburgkapelle*, p. 605; Hopfen, *Kompromißkatholizismus*, p. 64. Luna letter dated 15 September, 1561 cited in Laubach, *Ferdinand I*, p. 593.

[40] On the compromises and agreements with the pope and within the Habsburg family concerning these matters, see Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 44.

[41] This mission is described in Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire*, p. 111. See also Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1: p. 38.

On the road

María's court seems to have been often on the move during this period. Besides residing in Wiener Neustadt, the court also traveled to Vienna and Linz. The courtier Khevenhüller reported in his diary that, because of plague in Vienna, the family moved on to Linz for a while in Fall, 1561.[42] The following year saw outbreaks of the terrible disease in numerous locations in central Europe, including again in Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, and Prague. That summer in Vienna, Emperor Ferdinand had to close the bathhouses and markets and forbid church festivals in an attempt to get the spread of the disease under control.[43] In August, things were so bad in Wiener Neustadt that the cemetery surrounding the cathedral was full. There were open graves all around. The city council had to recommend that preaching take place not in the cathedral but in the abbey church, away from the decaying bodies. Dogs were reported to be eating corpses buried in unwalled graveyards. Suspicions ran high in the city: in June a gravedigger and his wife suspected of spreading the disease were punished by being buried alive.[44]

Elizabeth's father Maximilian shuttled between Vienna, Prague and Bratislava negotiating with his father and getting reports concerning developments on the Hungarian front. Conflicts in 1561 over whether or not Maximilian was to be elected or simply confirmed by the Hungarian estates had delayed his coronation in that kingdom.[45] By April, 1562 an uneasy truce with the now-Protestant Janos Sigismund ("John II,") was holding, but there were fears of further Ottoman intervention on his behalf in support of his claims over Transylvania, and maybe more of Hungary.[46] Some at court remembered the stipulations of the 1551 Treaty of Gyulafehérvár signed by Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand which promised her youngest aunt Johanna in marriage to the pretender. The contexts of Maximilian's decision to concede and accept papal permission to communicate in both kinds, educate his

[42] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 11.
[43] Imperial Order dated Vienna, 28 July, 1562. In Rupert Feuchtmüller and Gerhard Winkler, eds., *Renaissance in Österreich* (Vienna, 1974), p. 115.
[44] Gerhartl, *Wiener Neustadt (1978)*, pp. 241–242.
[45] Friedrich Edelmayer, "Die Vorgeschichte der Krönungen Maximilians II," pp. 21–38 in Hans Habersack, *Die Krönungen Maximilians II. zum König von Böhmen, Römischen König und König von Ungarn (1562/63)* (Vienna, 1990). Here, p. 37.
[46] Oborni, "Pläne des Wiener Hofes," pp. 283–290.

children in the Roman church, and not break with its representatives were death and disruption due to plague, and continued uncertainty in the east.

The royal couple's coronation in Prague's Saint Vitus Cathedral had to be postponed for some time because of Queen María's latest pregnancy. In June, 1562, she delivered in Linz another son, a boy named Friedrich.[47] This name, like that of his brother Wenzel, recalled the coronations to come. If Wenzel was named with Bohemia's crown in mind, Friedrich recalls the imperial pretensions of the baby's parents. Emperor Frederick III had died in Linz in 1493 and his internal organs are interred in the city's parish church. His body was buried in an impressive tomb in Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna.[48] Frederick was María and Maximilian's great-great grandfather. His name revealed the heritage which the two monarchs shared. The memory of Emperor Frederick and of his wife Empress Eleonora from Portugal also marked the city of Wiener Neustadt where María and Maximilian had been living with their courts over the last four years.

The queen's Master of the Horse Dietrichstein served as the newborn archduke's godfather. In addition to taking responsibility of the religious upbringing of Friedrich, Dietrichtstein also took on the responsibility of serving as the *Oyo* or governor for the two oldest archdukes, Rudolf and Ernst, in preparation for their move to Spain.[49] Dietrichstein's wife Margarita de Cardona was the daughter of Queen María's *camarera mayor*. As a Spanish noblewoman of high status, Margarita would be an asset in this undertaking.

While staying in Linz preparing to travel north to Prague for the coronations, diplomatic activity and discussions of possible marriages picked up again. There was, for example, the nettlesome problem of the Hungarian succession which had plagued the Habsburgs since Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand had decided to grasp after the Crown of Saint Stephen in the chaotic years following the Battle of Mohács in 1526. At times, it had seemed that the best strategy to deal with the rival claimants was to ally with them: just over a decade before

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[47] The French ambassador Bochetel reported the birth to Catherine de Medici in a letter probably sent from Prague dated 2 July, 1562: Werner Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I. und das Konzil von Trient 1562–1563," *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 5 (1973) Part Two: pp. 303–381. Here, p. 322 for text of letter.

[48] Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 149–150.

[49] Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1, p. 39.

a marriage between the Szapolyai claimant and a daughter of Queen Anne and King Ferdinand had been promised. Now, Elizabeth's aunt Katharina's sister-in-law's son was the (anti-)king, and was courting Protestants and Ottomans as well. What was to be done about this decade-old promise?

Ferdinand chose to fib. He reported to Janos Sigismund that his daughters were all either married or did not wish to marry.[50] At the same time, the French ambassador Bochetel was writing back to Catherine de Medici telling her that everyone at court was discussing a marriage between one of Emperor Ferdinand's daughters and the duke of Ferrara.[51] In Summer, 1562, negotiations were afoot to send more of Elizabeth's aunts south of Alps to join their sister Eleonore, the new duchess of Mantua. The Spanish ambassador in Prague, de Luna, was corresponding with King Philip about financial help for Queen María to assist her on the upcoming journey to King Maximilian's election. Count Luna and King Philip also wrote about the king's suggestion that Elizabeth marry her cousin Sebastian of Portugal and accompany her older brothers to Spain when they traveled there to be trained at the Iberian court.[52]

Archduchess Elizabeth, now eight years old, embarked on a momentous, approximately six-month-long trip on 1 September, 1562. This trip would take her through the Bohemian kingdom over which her parents had at least nominally ruled and into some of the non-Habsburg parts of the Holy Roman Empire. The goals would be first the Bohemian capital of Prague and then the imperial election site and Free City, Frankfurt am Main. There, she would participate not only in the festivities surrounding the election of her father as King of the Romans, heir-apparent to the Holy Roman Empire, but, surprisingly, in those surrounding his coronation as well. She traveled with her parents and older siblings Anna, Rudolf, and Ernst. Her younger brothers Matthias, Maximilian, Albrecht, Wenzel, and the newborn Friedrich

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[50] Letter from Ferdinand, 7 July, 1562. Cited in Oborni, "Pläne," p. 292.

[51] Bochetel to Catherine de Medici, probably from Prague, 16 July, 1562. Printed in Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 330.

[52] Luna to Philip II, Prague, 16 August, 1562. In De la Fuensanta del Valle, et al., *Correspondencia de los príncipes de Alemania* vol. 1, p. 353. See also Philip's undated response, pp. 365–366. Luna reported that Maximilian was skeptical about the idea concerning Elizabeth, at least partly due to her tender age (and the youth of her proposed bridegroom). See his letter dated 20 August, 1562: p. 370.

stayed behind in Linz until plague forced them from the city and they were moved to their aunts' residence city of Innsbruck.

The organization of the trip north from Linz to Prague required some time and coordination with Elizabeth's aunt and uncle in Bavaria. Elizabeth's parents' courts and those of her aunt and uncle could not travel simultaneously to the Bohemian capital without stretching the route's support capacities too far. It was agreed that the royal couple and their four children should travel one day following the entourages of the Bavarians. They would rendezvous on the outskirts of the capital for the ceremonial entrance into the city.[53] There was some discussion of inviting Elizabeth's aunt Eleonore and uncle Guglielmo from Mantua in order to reinforce the duke's confidence in Habsburg support (and encourage him to treat his new wife well), but the invitation apparently did not occur.[54] The French ambassador reported that the court would not stay long in Prague "because the plague is chasing us from here."[55]

The journey northward from Linz through the Bohemian Forest via the important castle city of Český Krumlov began on 31 August, 1562.[56] A week later, the court had made it to Štiřím, about two miles

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[53] Correspondence relating to this trip is published in Königliches Böhmische Landesarchiv [KBL], *Die Böhmischen Landtagsverhandlungen und Landtagsbeschüsse…* [BLT] (Prague, 1884), vol. 3. See the letter from Ferdinand to Maximilian dated Prague, 28 March, 1562 about who to invite to the coronation: the imperial electors do not need to be invited, but do invite the duke of Bavaria (pp. 102–103). The archbishop of Prague had to be reassured that he was going to officiate. See Hans Trautson to Brus, Prague, 28 March, 1561 (p. 103). (The Tyrolean Trautson was one of Emperor Ferdinand's closest advisors. See Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte und Berater," p. 298.) On the synchronization with the Bavarian duke, see Maximilian's letter to Duke Albrecht, Linz, 8 August, 1562 (p. 112). Emperor Ferdinand was concerned about who should hold the Czech welcoming speech when the court arrived: if the Bishop of Wrocław was not up to it, he suggested, the governor of Moravia could deliver the address. See Ferdinand to Maximilian, Prague, 16 August, 1562 (p. 114). The emperor also assured Maximilian that special arrangements would be made in the church for María and her court.

[54] Letter of Sigmund von Thun to Emperor Ferdinand dated Trent, 1 July, 1562. Cited in Martin C. Mandlmayr, "Die Beschreibung der Krönungen durch Hans Habersack," pp. 43–59 in Habersack, *Krönungen*. Here, p. 46, note 8.

[55] "*car la peste nous chase d'icy*," Letter dated Prague, 17 September, 1562. Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I," p. 345.

[56] The following description is based to a large extent on Habersack, *Krönungen* and the printed account now in the University of Frankfurt (Main) library titled *Wahl und Crönungs Handlung/ Das ist/ Warhafftige Beschreibung/ welcher gestalt weyland der Allerdurchleuchtigste/ Großmächtigste Fürst unnd Herr/ Herr Maximilian der Ander/ Römischer Keyser/ u. Hochlöblichster Gedächtnuß/ den 20. Septemb. Anno 1562. zu Prag zum Böhemischen/…* (Frankfurt/Main: Johann Bringer, 1612). The three

from the cities of Prague, where it met up with Elizabeth's aunt Anna and uncle Albrecht of Bavaria and their entourage of over 600 horse. Continuing on that day, Monday, 7 September, the enlarged entourage was then officially greeted by representatives of the various Bohemian confederated principalities including the bishop of Olomouc with representatives of the Moravian estates, the bishop of Wrocław with representatives of the Silesian estates, and delegations from principalities such as Opole, Racibórz, and the two Lusatias.

The contemporary chronicler Habersack reported that over 1,200 horsemen were drawn up in support of the representatives of the kingdom of Bohemia proper, with its high officials represented by the burgrave Jan the Younger Lobkovic. He held a speech welcoming the king and queen and their four children.[57] The linguistic diversity of the Bohemian lands is reflected by the fact that the bishop of Olomouc delivered his oration in Latin, the bishop of Wrocław spoke in German, and the burgrave spoke in Czech.[58]

Next on the scene were around 300 men representing the burghers of the three Christian jurisdictions of Prague: the Old City, the New

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coronations held between 20 September, 1562 and 8 September, 1563 were the subject of numerous contemporary published reports. The editors of Habersack, *Krönungen*, list 14 different printed accounts of one or more of the ceremonies (pp. 62–63). Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Bibliography*, lists 8. (The Frankfurt account cited above is listed as Nr. 29 on p. 6.) See also the account dated 7 Sept., 1562 in KBL, BLT III, pp. 130–133 and another one dated Prague, 10 Sept., 1562, on pp. 137–139. The travel route was listed in a royal order by Ferdinand dated Prague, 18 August, 1562 which required that the way be improved: p. 115. To try to reduce the risk of plague, the authorities in Tabor, an important city along the route, were ordered not to allow anyone visiting from a plague-stricken area to stay in the city because of the planned visit of King Maximilian. Draft of Imperial Order, n.p., 18 Aug., 1562 (p. 115). Altfahrt discussed the Prague coronations of 1562 in "politische Propaganda," pp. 302–304.

[57] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 100. On the general importance of welcoming ceremonies such as these for the constitution of power and authority, see Klaus Tenfelde, "Adventus: Die fürstliche Einholungs als städtisches Fest," pp. 45–60 in Paul Hugger, ed., *Stadt und Fest. Zu Geschichte und Gegenwart europäischer Festkultur* (Zurich, 1987). Tenfelde argued that these *entrées* were the only opportunity for the commoners in a city to actually see their rulers in person (p. 49).

[58] KBL, BLT III: pp. 130–131. Tensions between the speakers of the various languages were apparently expected. In the bilingual (Czech and German) extraordinary regulations (*Policejní řád/Polizeiordnung*) issued for the period of the coronation and estates' session, the third clause, just after the one forbidding brawling and duels, concentrated on outlawing insulting or posting derogatory placards members of another "*Nation*." The regulations continued, "*Es soll auch kein Nation die ander ihrer Sprach, Kleidung oder Sitten halb, noch umb keiner anderlei Sachen willen verachten noch verspotten…*" (p. 120). The regulations were issued at the Prague castle on 25 Aug., 1562. (For the entire text, see pp. 119–128.)

City, and the Small Side. The burghers were followed by the priests "from the Prague cities who communicated in both species," the recognized and privileged clergy of the Utraquist confession which dominated the kingdom's capital and much of its surrounding territory.[59] University and college representatives also appeared ceremonially welcoming their new overlord into his residence city.

The formal entrance through the gates of Prague was accompanied by the sound of trumpets and kettle drums. The procession included six camels driven by Hungarians and Africans, some of the camel drivers playing bagpipes or fifes.[60] Habersack detailed the exact order in which the hundreds of men marched into the capital, pointing out the rather exotic costumes of the hussars from Hungary. These would have reminded everyone that the Habsburg rulers also had ties and interests in that important and contested neighboring kingdom. Another contemporary account dated three days after the event claimed that the 400 Hungarian hussars in the procession outdid all the others in luxury and beauty: "…with expensive horses, clothes and jewelry of gold, precious stones, and silver," the "…aforementioned Hungarians received the most attention from everyone."[61] Elizabeth's brothers Rudolf and Ernst rode ahead of their father through the city gates, close after the kingdom's leading officials. King Maximilian followed, to his right the duke of Bavaria and to his left the two archdukes, his brothers Ferdinand and Karl.

Immediately after these four riders came Elizabeth, her mother, her sister, and her aunt with eleven court ladies in an ornate wagon. The wagon, hitched behind four stately, costumed horses, was elaborately decorated with silver and gold stitching on black velvet, looking "as if the silver were a bunch of little pearls," according to one contemporary report.[62] Behind Elizabeth's wagon came more wagons, including Duchess Anna's gold-covered one, with additional ladies of the court. Almost 150 royal archers in armor brought up the rear.[63]

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[59] *"die Priesterschafft aus den prager stetten unnder beiderlay gestalt,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 100. David, *Finding the Middle Way*.

[60] KBL, BLT III: p. 131.

[61] *"mit kostlichen Pferden, Kleidungen und Geschmücken von Gold, Edelgstein und Silber…" "ermelte Hungern das meist Aufsehen von jdermeniglichem gehabt."* KBL, BLT III: p. 138.

[62] *"…als wenn das Silber lauter Perlein weren." Ibid.*

[63] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 101.

Maximilian progressed through the cities of Prague under a red and white baldachin held by the cities' leading men. The streets and alleyways were lined with burghers holding flags and standing at attention. At various places along the route, Elizabeth could see boys dressed as muses, all in white, who recited or sang greetings and held inscriptions in honor of her father. Tapestries and decorations were everywhere along the way, and Archduchess Elizabeth must have been fascinated with the complex city as the procession made its way slowly along the traditional route. At the entrance to their ramshackle lodgings in what one official account called "an old burned-out cloister," the newly-settled Jesuits had erected a triumphal arch decorated with green wreaths and "glittering gold" on which two small boys dressed as angels stood to address the new king and queen.[64] How much did all this recall for Elizabeth the celebrations two years previous in Vienna, with their decorations and costumed children? Did she notice the sorry state of the Jesuits' settlement there at the bridge's end?

The eight-year-old archduchess probably did not understand many of the multi-lingual posters displayed along her ceremonial route that hot and dusty September day. In Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German, and Czech, these posters or broadsides provided evidence of the multinational and multiethnic nature of the kingdom over which her father and mother were claiming rule. Its multi-religious nature was also underlined when, just before the procession reached the fabled stone bridge over the Vltava River, representatives of Prague's important Jewish community stood by the route in traditional garb with a flag and the Ten Commandments under a canopy. Among them were boys dressed in white shirts wearing golden belt clasps who stood chanting.[65]

As the procession reached the bridge, the artillery stationed along the city's walls and up in the castle was ordered to begin its booming welcome. Trumpeters stationed in the bridge's first, flag-bedecked, tower began to play. The archduchess and her entourage were treated to a fireworks display put on by the city fisherman on a barge upstream.

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[64] *"ein alt verprennt Closter," "Zittergold,"* KBL, BLT III: p. 131.

[65] KBL, BLT III, p. 132. Mandlmayer points out that some sources refer negatively to the Jewish representatives and their "shrieking." According to Bohemian Estates records, the Jewish representatives were driven back by guards as they tried to approach the royal entourage. There is no way to know if Elizabeth saw this or how she understood the singing or chanting. Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 46.

A "pretty little tower" was stormed and captured by the participants as the archduchess and the rest of the royal procession clattered by.[66]

It was getting dark as the hours-long parade finally made it way up the hill and into the castle confines. Elizabeth's father mounted a horse for the trek up. The archers, who had suffered tremendously in their armor in the day's heat, were dismissed.[67] The reception in the castle courtyard by the archbishop, the cathedral canons, a few abbots, and the castle chapel staff (probably almost the only old church clerics resident in Prague at the time) was held by lantern light.[68] The archbishop held a Latin welcoming speech and clerics brought a golden baldachin to hold over the royal couple. María and Maximilian kissed the Cross and the frail emperor appeared and greeted his arriving guests "with great fatherly happiness."[69] After Elizabeth's grandfather's greeting, the tired family entered briefly into the decorated Saint Václav Chapel where they kneeled on golden cushions and prayed before entering the cathedral choir for the singing of a *Te Deum* by Emperor Ferdinand's choir. Elizabeth and her family then retired to their quarters in borrowed noble apartments near the cathedral and the rather run-down royal residence.[70]

Breakfast the next day saw Elizabeth sitting with her parents, sister, Uncle Karl, and Aunt Anna and Uncle Albrecht of Bavaria while her other uncle, Ferdinand, the regent of the kingdom, hosted a special, separate banquet in honor of his two nephews, Rudolf and Ernst. There was a continuing rivalry between the two older brothers, Maximilian the heir and king-designate on the one hand, and Ferdinand, the namesake and much-loved son who actually ruled the kingdom as governor on the other. This rivalry was so pronounced that the old emperor expressly pointed to it in his opening comments to the Estates when they met the next day. According to a summary report of his comments written the day after the opening session, Emperor Ferdinand had said he knew that he "also had to die" but that he did not wish anything more than that the peace and unity of the kingdom, and

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[66] *"lustig Thurnlein"* KBL, BLT III, p. 133.

[67] Reportedly two participants in the procession died at least partially because of the exertions and the heat of the day. *Ibid.*

[68] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 101.

[69] *"mit grossen vätterlichen freuden,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 102.

[70] Emperor Ferdinand had ordered Heinrich von Schwanberg and Wolf von Vřesocic na Teplici to allow the new king and queen to use their houses at the castle complex during the court's stay in Prague. Order dated Poděbrad, 25 July, 1562. KBL, BLT III, pp. 111–112.

that is why he wanted his eldest son to be his successor, as had been the case in Bohemia traditionally, "to guard against growing disunity that may develop between His Majesty's sons and to better cultivate peace and unity…" the Estates should permit the coronations of King Maximilian and Queen María.[71]

The decorated wagon which had brought María, Elizabeth, her aunt Anna, and her sister Anna up to the Prague castle was used after their arrival to travel to the imposing castle at Karlstejn and collect the royal coronation insignia of the Lands of Saint Václav. 600 Bohemian lords and knights rode back with the regalia until they reached White Mountain, a hill outside of the capital. There, they dismounted and accompanied the objects the remaining way on foot, depositing them in Saint Václav Chapel in the cathedral in preparation for the coronation ceremonies.

The next weeks were dedicated to the meeting of the Bohemian Estates, which debated the coronation issue little, instead concentrating on the festivities to follow and the amount of the voluntary contribution to be levied in the kingdom to support the new queen and king and their rather extensive family and court. Life in the city was expensive during this period. According to one contemporary account, "[i]t is impossible to describe what kind of expenditure is everywhere and with everyone, especially the women, because the Bohemians and Silesians really show off their luxury…"[72] This desire to show off, the account continued, reached even to the women from the countryside who also took the occasion to spend.

Two Bohemian coronations

Elizabeth's father's coronation took place first. It was held in Saint Vitus Cathedral on 20 September, 1560, a little over a week before the festival of the kingdom's patron saint, Saint Václav, on the 28th.[73]

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[71] *"auch sterben müessten," "zu Verhuetung erwachsenden Uneinigkeit, so etwan zwischen S. Mt. Sünen entsteen möcht, auch zu mehrer Pflanzung Fried und Einigkeit…"* KBL, BLT III, p. 138.

[72] *"Es ist sonst nicht zuerschreiben, was nur für Kostlicheit allhie ist under jdermenniglich und sonderlich den Frauenzimmern, da sich dann die Beheim und Schlesingern gar prachtlich sehen lassen…"* KBL, BLT III, p. 139.

[73] A report describing the two coronations which was found in copies both in the Prague archiepiscopal archive and the archive in Munich is located in KBL, BLT III, pp. 140–155. See also another undated report from the Munich archive: pp. 150–155.

Before six in the morning, Queen María, little Elizabeth, her sister Anna, their brothers Rudolf and Ernst, and their aunt Anna, Duchess of Bavaria, together with the ladies of their courts and their staffs, assembled within the chilly confines of the cathedral to await the arrival of the king-to-be (who was already). Did Elizabeth think of the patron saint of the cathedral, one of the famous "Fourteen Holy Helpers?" As a young boy, legend has it, of about her age Saint Vitus refused to give up his Christian religion and fled with his tutor and nurse, only to be martyred, even after the intervention of angels and surviving being cast into a pot of boiling oil.

There were risers set up about the rather constricted nave to allow an audience to watch. Because of the continuing precedence conflicts between the Spanish and French ambassadors, they did not officially attend. Instead, they were present in a private capacity.[74] The next to arrive was Elizabeth's grandfather, adorned in imperial splendor and accompanied by Elizabeth's uncles, the archdukes Ferdinand and Karl and the duke Albrecht. Emperor Ferdinand sat down in a red-velvet upholstered chair prepared for him. His son's coronation began.

The bishops of Olomouc and Wrocław exited the sacristy and processed with a cross and candles to the elaborate and gem-encrusted chapel of Saint Václav. Elizabeth may have recognized the Bishop of Wrocław: until very recently he had presided over ceremonies in Assumption Cathedral in Wiener Neustadt and had been active in the education of the royal children. These two bishops represented in some ways the more important parts of the Bohemian confederation as seen from the standpoint of the Habsburgs. Silesia, with its capital of Wrocław, and Moravia, with its capital of Olomouc, were significantly different from "Bohemia proper" with its Utraquist recent history, its rebellions, and its new, rather poverty-stricken archbishop.

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[74] Bochetel reported on this in a note to Catherine de Medici, probably from Prague, dated 28 September, 1562. Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I," p. 349. The issue of precedence between the French and the Spanish went back to French claims of antiquity when compared to the upstart jumble of jurisdictions which the Habsburg rulers in Iberia had taken to calling a "kingdom." The issue had come up often in the correspondence between King Maximilian and his father in the weeks of preparation leading up to the coronation trip. Emperor Ferdinand, who supported the Spanish claims out of family loyalty to his nephew King Philip, had come up with the rather elegant and diplomatic solution of having the Spanish ambassador attend the king's coronation and the French ambassador attend the queen's. This solution was not accepted by the concerned parties. See the draft of Ferdinand's letter to Maximilian, n.p., n.d. (but after 25 August, 1562) in KBL, BLT III, p. 118.

This archbishop, Antonín of Prague, walked between his two fellow bishops. Their procession included a line of priests, cathedral canons, and abbots as well.

After some pause while Maximilian was ceremonially dressed, (he had been officially met by a delegation of notables at his residence and accompanied to the cathedral), he exited the chapel in a long procession which included trios of men carrying the insignia of Bohemian royal office: the ring, scepter, orb, and crown. The orb and scepter had been made at Maximilian's father's request when he had taken over as Bohemian king in the tumultuous years following the Battle of Mohács and the Habsburg acquisition of Bohemia three decades before.[75] The crown dated from the period of rule of the venerated king and emperor Charles IV in the fourteenth century. Its tall jeweled lilies had reportedly been made at the request of the Bohemian queen of French heritage, Blanche de Valois, using some of the materials from the Saint Václav reliquary in the cathedral. The crown, which was said to contain a fragment of the Crown of Thorns, recalled the French kings' crown and the medieval Bohemian ruler's ties to that kingdom.[76] According to a papal bull of 1346, it was to be kept on the important relic of the head of Saint Václav at all times except when it was briefly removed to crown the Bohemian king.[77]

The Sword of Saint Václav in its red scabbard was carried before Maximilian and the archbishop by the kingdom's marshal. The bishops of Olomouc and Wrocław walked beside him. Maximilian approached the altar uncrowned. Elizabeth undoubtedly recognized the primary ecclesiastic at the ceremony; Brus, who was also Grand Master of the Crusaders with the Red Star, had been active in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt for a number of her childhood years.

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[75] The orb was decorated with sapphires, pearls, and spinals. On the top it depicted scenes from the story of David, including his anointing and his triumph over Goliath. On the bottom it showed scenes from the Book of Genesis, including the entrance of Adam into Paradise, and Adam and Eve before the Tree. The scepter was similarly decorated with precious stones, but was also wrapped in artistic depictions of wine leaves, blossoms, and acanthus leaves (with their reference to Corinthian capitals). See the illustrations in Bahlcke and Dudeck, *Welt-Macht-Geist*, pp. 260–262.

[76] Franz Bock, *Die Kleinodien des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation, nebst den Kroninsignien Böhmens, Ungarns under der Lombardei* (Vienna: n.p., 1864), Text Vol. 1, pp. 25–26. See also Bahlcke and Dudeck, *Welt-Macht-Geist*, pp. 262–263 (with illustrations).

[77] Karl G. Vocelka, "Die Forschungslage zur Zeremonialgeschichte und zu den Krönungen der frühen Neuzeit," pp. 9–20 in Habersack, *Krönungen*. Here, p. 19.

It was only when Maximilian reached the choir of the cathedral that the music began. The combined choruses and choirs of Ferdinand and Maximilian's courts (with, no doubt, participation from María's as well) filled the arched cathedral confines with an astounding array of tones, all intertwined. Drums and trumpets accompanied the new king and the line of clerics solemnly carrying the cathedral relics as they were placed on prominent benches near the main altar, "…so that the whole church sounded triumphantly," a contemporary account reports.[78] The relics set in the places of honor were those of Saints Václav and Ludmilla. Near them were relics of the virgin martyr Saint Euphemia, Saint George, and Saint Procopius. Saint Euphemia of Chalcedon's feast had just been celebrated a few days before, so little Elizabeth could have been reminded of the legend of this young girl's martyrdom by wild beasts. Other relics displayed in less elevated positions included some related to the Passion, including pieces of the Holy Cross (one fastened to a cross "made in the Spanish manner"), the heads of Saints Václav, Veit, Vojtěch, and Bartholomew, and smaller relics of the Virgin Mary, Saint Mary Magdalene, Saint John the Baptist, and Saint Norbert.[79] A statue of Saint Václav presided over the relic display. The insignia of royal office were given to attending priests and placed on the main altar.

Maximilian approached Archbishop Antonín and kneeled before him. After the choir completed a shortened litany, it hushed as the archbishop blessed the king-candidate. Then, Elizabeth's father stood up and was led by the three bishops to his gold-canopied seat in the cathedral's ornate choir. A High Mass was sung with full accompaniment: the men of the choir sang and the organ made its contribution to the solemnity and majesty of the occasion.

After the Epistle had been read, the two bishops led Maximilian to the altar. He kneeled there before the archbishop. The archbishop and each bishop prayed over the kneeling Maximilian before the archbishop took a dab of the holy oil and made a sign of the cross on Maximilian's arm, assisted by the honorary Bohemian and court chamberlains. A blessing with consecrated oil followed on the new king's breast and between his shoulders. Elizabeth's father was joining

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[78] *"…also dass die ganz Kirchen gar triumphantlich erschallen."* KBL, BLT III, p. 151.

[79] *"facta per modum Hispaniae," ibid.*, p. 147. All of the relics, candelabra, and other precious treasures such as gold and silver statues which were displayed are listed in this account dated 20 Sept., 1562.

a very elite group: the handful of annointed European monarchs who occupied a peculiar place in Christendom's hierarchy: not quite clerics, they were more than members of the laity. The oil applied removed Maximilian from the ordinary and entered him to the ordained.

After the anointing, the Bohemian royal officials brought the insignia related to their offices to the priests at the altar. These priests accepted the objects and then handed them to the archbishop, who then passed them on to Maximilian. By passing through these clerical hands, entrusted as they briefly were to the care of the Church, the symbols of office became more than the profane objects which they were by substance alone. A quiet followed.

It was time to turn to the assembled. Archbishop Antonín, following the script, asked the congregated, "Do you wish to subject yourselves to this person as a king, to help empower his realm and to be true and faithful to him?"[80] Three times those assembled answered in the affirmative. With a hand on the Gospels and assisted by the Prague burgrave, King Maximilian took various oaths in Czech before the lord high chamberlain of Bohemia took the Holy Crown of Saint Václav and passed it to the archbishop, who ceremoniously placed it on Elizabeth's father's head. All three bishops and the burgrave placed their hands on the crown, then withdrew, allowing Archbishop Antonín to lead the new king to his throne as drums and trumpets loudly celebrated the event and a *Te Deum* was joyously sung.

The little archduchess may well have become restless during the next portion of the ceremony: over eighty royal officers and officials, beginning with the burgrave, approached the throne and, while touching the crown with two fingers, loudly swore allegiance to their new king. Here, the rather impersonal tie of subject to crown was made personal through the physical contact of the subject to the object crown, while making individual contact to the person seated on the throne. Eye contact as the oath was repeated linked Elizabeth's father to the leading members of the male establishment in this important kingdom. He no longer would be the less-favored son, shunted off to Neustadt in favor of his younger brother Ferdinand. Now Maximilian was the anointed and crowned ruler of Bohemia and its federated lands, some of the

[80] *"Wolt ir euch diesem/ als einem König/ unterwerffen/ sein Rath helffen bekräfftigen/ ihm getrew seyn/ unnd gehorsam/" Wahl und Crönungs Handlung*, n.p. Habersack reported that this role was played by the burgrave: Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 114.

richest on the continent and the most important source of income from the Habsburgs' hereditary lands in central Europe.[81]

The Mass was continued with Emperor Ferdinand and King Maximilian playing ceremonial roles in their capacities as almost-clerics. The bishop of Olomouc brought them the Gospels to kiss and at the Offering King Maximilian went to the altar, kissed the paten and took the gifts from the laymen who brought them, passing them on to the archbishop. The bishop of Wrocław gave Ferdinand and Maximilian the *pacem* to kiss as well. The Mass was concluded (without Maximilian taking Communion) and then the attendant knighting ceremony held. Nineteen men were dubbed before the emperor and the king retired from the cathedral via the choir, again revealing their particular status. (They did not leave via the nave as the rest of the laity present would have.)

Elizabeth and the other women of the court retired from the cathedral to the Bohemian estates' chambers across the way while the emperor and the king processed with their marshals and insignia of office through the streets of the castle district to the accompaniment of the city pipers stationed high in the castle tower and the thunder of cannons fired from their emplacements along the castle walls. The townspeople in the city below would all know that the coronation had now been completed.

The day was ended with a banquet attended by the new king, the emperor, Elizabeth, her sister and brothers, her mother Queen María, and her aunt and uncle, the duchess and duke of Bavaria, together with various notables from the Bohemian kingdom. Elizabeth's father occupied the place of honor next to the emperor. The ceremonial offices at the banquet would have been filled by the highest nobles, underlining their servile status *vis-à-vis* the king. This mixing of the personal and the official, where high officers and nobles of the realm also served the king at his table, was characteristic of the political and social worlds in which Archduchess Elizabeth was growing up: her mother's court officers as well as those of her father and grandfather also played key roles in government. Habersack listed the eleven tables set up for this banquet, together with each table's occupants.[82]

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[81] Rauscher, *Ständen und Gläubigern*, pp. 48–59.
[82] Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 117–129.

Queen María's coronation followed the next day, 21 September, the Feast of Saint Matthew, a day sometimes seen as an important marker between Fall and Winter, and whose course could help predict the future.[83] In structure it was very similar to the ceremony for Maximilian. This time, however, the women of the courts were given central roles. Duchess Anna, for example, accompanied Queen María on her left while King Maximilian walked on her right in the procession from the royal apartments. Elizabeth and Anna walked behind the queen into the cathedral. Habersack's description points out that María wore a white dress with gold the long arms of which were described as "Old Spanish…and the decoration and veil on her head was also Spanish."[84]

Elizabeth, her sister Anna, and their aunt Anna sat in the choir stalls. Other foreign ladies and maidens watched from the risers in the nave as the queen processed from Saint Václav Chapel. Unlike the king's procession, this one did not include Bohemian lords carrying the day's offerings, and the royal sword was not among the insignia of office which preceded the queen. The abbess of the Convent of Saint George, the female Benedictine house located within the castle confines just steps from the cathedral, played a key role in the coronation as the queen's honorary Head of Household. She wore a small crown of her own and attended the queen, together with another nun and María's male head of household. The most important of María's ladies-in-waiting attended standing to her rear. Elizabeth and her sister were seated at the end of the bench beyond their aunt and uncles, but a report dated that day states that the two small girls "were repeatedly allowed by the dukes [sic] to move ahead so that they would be better able to see."[85]

The relics which were ceremoniously brought to be displayed near the high altar by cathedral clerics were somewhat different than the ones which had graced the scene the day before.[86] Archduchess Elizabeth may first have noted the prominent place given to flowers

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[83] The court would no doubt soon learn that another significant family event occurred on this day: Elizabeth's Aunt Eleonore, the new Duchess of Mantua, gave birth to a son, Vincenzo, the heir to the ducal throne in Mantua.

[84] *"alltspannisch; und der schmuckh und schlayr auf dem haupt ist auch auf spannisch zuegericht gewest."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 120.

[85] *"welche dann von den Herzogen mermalen, damit sie besser aufsehen mechten, fur sich geruckt worden."* KBL, BLT III, p. 154.

[86] For the list, see KBL, BLT III, p. 150.

among them. (None was reported to have been placed with the relics at her father's ceremony.) Discussion of the meaning and significance of flowers, their growth, planting, and use, were important parts of a girl's education. Unfortunately, the sources do not reveal what types of flowers played their roles in the ceremony; the girls probably would have been able to.

The display was crowned by a silver statue of Saint Mary with Child instead of the large silver statue of Saint Václav which had presided over the king's relics. The relics in the place of honor at María's coronation were not those of Saints Václav and Ludmilla, either: they were of the "Five Brother Martyrs" Benedict, Matthew, John, Isaac, and Christinus, martyred hermit missionaries who had followed Saint Vojtěch into Poland in the late tenth century to convert the population to Christianity. The second level's decorations echoed those of the day before, with the heads of Saints Václav, Veit, Vojtěch, and Bartholomew. The lower level had just one statue: a silver reliquary depicting Saint Anne and containing her relics. The emphasis in the queen's relic display was toward the maternal lineage of Christ, depicting His mother and grandmother, the latter standing alone on a level of her own. (The paternal lineage was implied.) Another theme displayed on this relic stand with its central role for the "Five Brother Martyrs" related the role of the followers of the bishop Vojtěch, an affirmation of episcopal authority and the virtue of obedience.

King Maximilian, like his father Emperor Ferdinand no longer wearing royal robes, led Queen María to the main altar and presented her to Archbishop Antonín. The ceremony continued as it had for the king the day before, with the anointing of the queen with consecrated oil and her reception of the scepter, orb and crown associated with the office of Queen of Bohemia. The abbess, the burgrave, and the three bishops placed their hands on the crown as it was placed on their new queen's head. María did not swear an oath to the kingdom nor did the kingdom's officers and notables swear oaths to her while touching her crown as they had the day before at the king's coronation. To the side where the king stood, so stood the Bohemian marshal holding the sword of state. It remained in its scabbard to entire ceremony, underlining symbolically the lack of access to officially-sanctioned coercion and violence which characterized the queen's position. The assembled were again asked, however, to affirm their new queen through triple acclamation, which they duly did.

Queen María, wearing her crown, participated in the offering and, unlike her husband, took Communion. After the conclusion of the Mass, she was led out of the cathedral by her husband and representatives of the Bohemian Estates, briefly stumbling on a fold in a carpet as she worked to carry the heavy crown and scepter. (Was she still convalescing from the birth of baby Friedrich three months before?) Her sister-in-law Duchess Anna quickly helped her up. After processing from the cathedral, María again attended, with her daughter Elizabeth and the others, a large festive banquet in the royal palace. This time, María was seated at the place of honor next to her father-in-law. Each table was filled with women of the kingdom or the court. For example, the first table was headed by Anna von Kolovrat, the wife of the kingdom's Lord High Steward, and her two daughters. Two other Kolovrat women and two Lobkovic ladies, together with Sophia Krzinetzkin, completed the table's complement.[87] Because not all of the wives and daughters of the kingdom's officers had accompanied their husbands and fathers to Prague for the ceremonies, many of the tables remained unfilled; women of the court moved in to make sure that all the seats were taken.

The coronation ceremonies were completed with various tournaments and courtly entertainments described as "rich and stately" by the courtier Khevenhüller in his diary.[88] There was a tournament on 22 September, for example, in which Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl played key roles.[89] On 27 September there were more competitions with 180 knights, again led by Archdukes Ferdinand and Karl, and a tournament on foot was held the next day.[90] Little is known concerning the scripts for these entertainments, although Hans Habersack made sure to copy the lists of participants and prizewinners into his account of the coronations and their related festivities.[91] As with the Vienna Festival held over two years before, these colorful and elaborate jousts and tournaments provided the opportunity for the diverse nobility of the Habsburgs' lands to mingle and compete. Participants from the ruling family fought side by side or against participants

[87] Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 124–125.
[88] *"reiche und stattliche,"* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 12.
[89] Kaufmann, *Variations*, p. 26.
[90] *Ibid*., pp. 26–27.
[91] Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 126–129.

from their Austrian lands, from Bohemia, and elsewhere. Again, the Spanish ambassador entered the lists. He was awarded a prize for his costume.

Now María and Maximilian were anointed and crowned monarchs, not the titular rulers of unclear status which they had been to date. They had been publicly acclaimed and blessed by the ecclesiastical powers-that-be. The high nobility of the kingdom had participated in the couple taking office and were now personally tied to them and their rule, as they had been to their predecessors on the Bohemian thrones, Queen Anna and King Ferdinand. (Of course the later still held his title as king, but Maximilian was now his anointed successor.) For the position of queen and the attendant offices, titles, and incomes, a fifteen-year long interregnum had finally been ended. Bohemia again had a queen and the positions and prestige tied to attending a queen's court could again be accessed. There were now two Habsburg queens ruling in Europe: María of Bohemia and her sister-in-law Katharina of Poland. The two little archduchesses Elizabeth and Anna who had watched curiously from their seats in the Prague cathedral choir knew that they, too, were destined to join their mother and their aunt in regal robes.

The role of female rulers in Bohemian history was a storied one.[92] It is unclear how much Archduchesses Elizabeth and Anna had been taught concerning the history of the kingdom, but they may have been introduced to the stories from the twelfth-century chronicler Kosmas or the rhymed German translation of the fourteenth-century text known as the "Dalimil Chronicle."[93] These stories, which apparently also circulated in oral traditions into the later Middle Ages, told of how the impressive Prague castle had been established by the legendary Libuše, wife of the founder of the first Bohemian dynasty, Přemysl. They told, too, of the exploits of the great female military leader Vlasta who led a legion of unmarried women warriors to avenge the death

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[92] The basic background is discussed in John M. Klassen, *Warring Maidens, Captive Wives and Hussite Queens. Women and Men at War and Peace in Fifteenth Century Bohemia* (NY, 1999), pp. 13–32.

[93] Adolf Bachmann, "Die Reimchronik des sogenannten Dalimil" *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 91 (1902), pp. 59–119. Bachmann points out the large role in Bohemian history for angels and saints such as Procopius and Michael which Dalimil gives in the chronicle: pp. 117–118. Bachmann adds that "Dalimil ist nicht Geschichtsschreiber, sondern Erzähler," (p. 113) and that he acted more as a collector of folk traditions than as a historian (p. 76).

of Libuše, shouting to the women, "If we crush them now, our deed will always be remembered and praised./ And we will select our own husbands…"[94] After Vlasta's victory, she established a five-year reign in a castle the women built. Her laws included, "a girl could take as a husband any man she herself wanted, and the wife would hold court, while the husband did the work."[95] Although she ultimately was defeated and killed, Vlasta's memory survived.

Elizabeth and Anna may also have heard of the sainted duchess Ludmilla, widow of the first Christian ruler of the territory. Her festival had been celebrated just a few days before, on 16 September, and her relics had been displayed in a place of honor at the coronation of their father. Strangled by her veil, her legend tells, the martyred duchess was buried just steps away from the Prague cathedral in the convent church dedicated to Saint George (whose relics had been similarly displayed). Saint Ludmilla was considered an intercessor for duchesses and a patron of widows. She has also been turned to over the years by people needing help with their in-laws. (Legend has it she was murdered by her daughter-in-law.) Elizabeth might have reason to call upon this saint in the future.

Saint George Convent had been founded by permission of Pope John XIII through the intervention of Saint Ludmilla's granddaughter Mlada, who also received papal permission for the establishment of the Prague diocese in 973. Saint George Church would become the burial site for many of the early rulers of Bohemia. By the thirteenth century, a burial chapel housing Saint Ludmilla's remains was built in this church. The convent's importance was underlined by the prominent role its abbess and a second nun played in Queen María's coronation ceremony.

The crowned abbess standing with the archbishop, bishops and burgrave and holding the queen's crown showed Archduchess Elizabeth a different type of female religious authority than the one with which she had been hitherto in contact. The powerful Benedictine abbey within the walls of the Prague castle was a far cry from the almost-empty female houses of Vienna, or the little community of refugee Franciscan nuns living in the once-abandoned friary in Wiener Neustadt. Even

[94] Quoted and translated in Klassen, *Warring Maidens*, p. 17. For more on the chronicle, see Alfred Thomas, "Myth and History in the Dalimil Chronicle" in his *The Labyrinth of the World* (Munich, 1995), pp. 33–46.

[95] Klassen, *Warring Maidens*, p. 19.

though the Prague convent had suffered significant damage in the devastating fire which had swept through the castle district back in 1541, Saint George Cloister's political status was still symbolically clear in the role its abbess played that morning in the coronation ritual. Like the similarly burnt-out All Saints Chapel in the royal residence across the square, the spaces were present for political action if motivated rulers with resources were to become engaged. Elizabeth would be such a ruler when she returned to Prague Castle fourteen years later.

In September, 1562 Archduchess Elizabeth and her family could not stay and celebrate too long. Two things worked against them: the plague and the calendar. Khevenhüller wrote, "there was a lot of dying during the time of the coronation in Prague."[96] They also needed to move on to the election and coronation ceremonies in Frankfurt and Aachen before winter. The Imperial Chancellor, Prince Archbishop Elector Daniel of Mainz, had officially notified his colleagues in the Council of Electors (*Kurfürstenrat*) on the last of May that their meeting to discuss King Maximilian's candidacy was set for 20 October.[97]

Imperial and royal representatives, including Queen María's Master of the Horse Dietrichstein, had been sent to the six imperial electors' courts earlier in the year to make sure that they were in agreement about the election of Elizabeth's father as King of the Romans, heir to the imperial throne.[98] Some of the electors were not very enthusiastic about the idea. For one, when there was an *interregnum* various secular electors exercised executive authority as Imperial Vicars until a new emperor was chosen. This privilege was not easily given up. For another, fears of close ties between King Philip of Spain and his sister and brother-in-law unsettled some of the Protestant rulers who were nervous about a possible end to the toleration of religious diversity as outlined in the religious settlement signed at Augsburg seven years before.[99] By the summer, it appeared that things had been settled and

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[96] *"Hat auf bemeldter Krönung zu Prag gar heftig gestorben,"* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 12.

[97] Friedrich Walter, *Die Wahl Maximilians II.* (Heidelberg, 1892), p. 55.

[98] At this time, the electors were the Prince-Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, and the secular rulers of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate. The king of Bohemia also held the right to vote. The Palatine elector was the most skeptical concerning the necessity or propriety of electing Emperor Ferdinand's successor while the emperor still lived and ruled.

[99] Many of these discussions and considerations are outlined in Walter, *Wahl Maximilians II.* See also Edelmayer, "Vorgeschichte," pp. 37–38.

the electors persuaded to at least attend a meeting to discuss the serious issues facing the Empire and hear the emperor's plea that, because of his "bodily weaknesses" and advancing age, he needed, as the electors conceded, "an assistant and successor."[100]

The imperial election

The court packed up and moved out on 5 October, heading in a northwesterly direction across a different part of the Bohemian kingdom than the one which they had traversed on the trip from Linz to Prague. Now Elizabeth passed through the royal cities of Slaný and Kadaň and was able to see the Ohře River valley with the nearby important mining town of Jáchymov before reaching the border of the kingdom at the city of Cheb. The trip would take almost three weeks. Thirteen-year-old Anna, ten-year-old Rudolf, nine-year-old Ernst and eight-year-old Elizabeth were getting a taste of the lands over which their parents planned to rule one day. Like the Free Cities in the wider Empire, the Royal Cities in Bohemia played key roles in that rule. After the court crossed the border from Bohemia and started making its way down the Main River valley toward the Empire's metropolis of Frankfurt, their relationship with the curious peasants, villagers, and townspeople with which they came into contact or who watched them as they passed changed: the four were guests in this part of the world, simply grandchildren of the new and rather distant emperor.

The local population had some reason to be anxious in the summer of 1562. Across the Empire's southwestern borders in France civil war had broken out following a massacre of Protestants at Vassy in March. Seeing co-religionists in danger, some local leaders in the southwestern part of the Empire had started to raise troops to intervene on the Protestants' behalf. Faced with these developments, the city council of the Rhineland city of Worms had written their counterparts in Frankfurt asking for news, "…around us here it is generally said and shouted that in the principality of Hesse a large number of horsed soldiers is assembling…" and that these troops will be ready to leave

[100] *"Leibs-Schwachheiten," "einen Gehülffen und Successorn."* Quoted in Bernd Herbert Wanger, *Kaiserwahl und Krönung im Frankfurt des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt/Main, 1994), p. 166.

within days to cross the Rhine south of Mainz.[101] The Frankfurt city fathers drafted a reassuring response stating that they had also heard such rumors of a mustering of 2,000 horsemen but the rumors had turned out to be just that "and praise God there was no such thing."[102] They went on, however, to write that they had heard other reports of troops waiting to be paid before heading off to France through the territories of the prince archbishop elector of Trier.

When the electors began assembling in Frankfurt in October, nervous representatives of the city of Ulm on the Danube River south of Frankfurt wrote that city's representatives asking "what discussions and negotiations are taking place at such a meeting of important people," particularly when it comes to the war in France.[103] They even decided to send a representative to the city after waiting over a week for a response from the Frankfurt government.[104] The Frankfurters drafted a letter in response that "all things and discussions at this time are kept so closed…that it has not been possible up until now to learn a single letter concerning them."[105]

Of course the children in the long column of courtiers, servants, officials, and guards would not have been privy to the anxious communications between city magistrates the above correspondence represented. These communications, however, help to convey the ways the locals may have seen them and the context into which they were traveling. The aging grandfather traveling in his own entourage a bit behind María and Maximilian's was not as encouraging to many people in the Empire as the promise of a new young king. The thirty-five-year-old freshly-crowned king of Bohemia and his fecund wife, together with the young princesses and princes in their train, represented a hopeful, perhaps tolerant future. The Hungarian, Italian, and Spanish accents heard in the column represented wide ties and sources

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[101] *"…beÿ unnd umb unnß ein Allgemainn Sag Und geschraÿ ist daß sich Im Furstamthumb Hessenn ein stattliche Anzal KriegsVolck Zu Roß Versamble…"* Letter dated 18 August, 1562. StA F/M, Reichssachen II, Nr. 1172.

[102] *"Und Gott lob nichts davon geweßt"* Draft dated 20 August, 1562 responding to Worms letter of 18 August. StA F/M, Reichssachen II, Nr. 1172.

[103] *"was fur Tractationen unnd Hanndlungen, uff solcher stattlichen personlichen versamblung furlauffen."* Letter dated 26 October, 1562. StA F/M, Reichssachen II, Nr. 1177.

[104] Letter dated 4 November, 1562. StA F/M, Reichssachen II, Nr. 1177.

[105] *"Es warden aber alle sachen und Handlungen noch zue Zeit so enge…gehalt. Das wir auch biß auf den heutige. tag nit den einigsten buchstab davon vernemen mögen."* Draft dated 5 November, 1562. *Ibid.*

of income which could be used to address some of the Empire's pressing concerns.

The archduchesses and their brothers also would not have been involved much if at all in the hurried negotiations and letter-writing which accompanied the emperor's trip down from the Bohemian hills into the Main valley. All along the way, beginning even before the courts left Prague, Elizabeth's grandfather had been plagued by disputes over the exact choreography of his entrance into the Imperial Free City of Frankfurt. The disputes centered about completing claims on the part of Imperial Chancellor Daniel Brendel von Homburg, the prince archbishop elector of Mainz, ruler of a prince-bishopric and religious leader over institutions in the city (especially the influential Saint Bartholomew's Foundation which ran the major church where the elections were traditionally held) on the one side and the mayor and city council of Frankfurt on the other.[106] Who was to officially greet the imperial party? Where? Who was to accompany the emperor as he made his way to his lodgings?[107] Less than a week before his arrival in Frankfurt, Ferdinand wrote the Mayor and City Council, "You would permit the precedence and accompaniment of the oft-mentioned Archbishop of Mainz on this occasion in order to avoid conflict…."[108]

Such disputes were an important part of court life and Elizabeth would have to learn how to regulate and handle them. They were most likely discussed in court circles. Like the ongoing precedence dispute between the Spanish and French ambassadors which had resulted in neither of them formally appearing at the September coronations in Prague, the disputes between the archbishop of Mainz and the city council of Frankfurt revealed wider and more important rivalries. The tensions which existed in the sixteenth-century Empire between the ecclesiastical establishments—especially the bishops—and city councils

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[106] On Archbishop Daniel, see Mathilde Krause, *Die Politik des Mainzer Kurfürsten Daniel Brendel von Homburg (1555–1582)* (Darmstadt, 1931).

[107] See the correspondence in StA F/M Reichssachen II, Nr. 1173. The first letter from the Mayor and City Council is dated Frankfurt, 28 September, 1562. The documents show the establishment of an imperial commission to rule on the problems, which had also been in evidence when Ferdinand had been in the city back in 1558. These later documents are dated 5 December, 1562 (i.e. only days before the emperor departed).

[108] *"…Ir wöllet auf diezmal gezenck…Zuverhueten, offtgedachten Ertzbischof. Zu Maintz den VorZug und Verglaitung lassen."* Letter dated Kitzingen, 19 October, 1562. StA F/M Reichssachen II, Nr. 1173.

were in some ways both causes and consequences of the Reformation. For ecclesiastics such as the archbishop of Mainz, who also served as a secular prince and as chancellor of the Empire, the lines dividing his authorities, or the spheres in which his various authorities operated, were not always clear.

For Emperor Ferdinand, on the other hand, in this case the choice was rather clear: he needed the archbishop's support in the Council of Electors as well as in the Empire more generally. He could not afford to alienate the imperial chancellor in favor of the burghers of Frankfurt, even though he needed them (or at least their money and banking skills), too. There was some ground to be irritated with the Frankfurt government: Ferdinand had written from Prague in July reminding them that they were behind on their taxes earmarked for the building of border fortifications, a project dear to the emperor's heart. They needed to take advantage of the relative peace to complete the defenses, "and now is the most useful and best time to build."[109] He told them to pay as soon as possible; by the fall trade fair at the latest. The walls and bastions of Vienna and elsewhere needed them.

As Elizabeth and her family traversed the Main Valley on the way to Frankfurt, they passed through a world to a large extent under the control of prince-bishops. The route may have been selected to help assure a safe passage. The predictability of some Protestant lords in the area had limits. The cathedral cities of first Bamberg and then Würzburg with their impressive churches and castles would have provided the young archduchess with the occasion to marvel at the worldly and other worldly powers of the Church. After those territories the column traversed the lands of the prince archbishop of Mainz and passed his residence city of Aschaffenburg. These bishops were much different than those Elizabeth had known in Wiener Neustadt or Vienna (or even Prague). The imperial bishops and archbishops were powerful and controlled important cities and lordships, unlike their poor Austrian cousins to the south. The imperial bishops and archbishops were important political buttresses of imperial power, too. Relatively vulnerable to bullying by neighboring and home-grown secular lords or to uprisings by their subject peasantries, the prince-bishops needed to cooperate with each other and with the central authorities in order to survive.

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[109] *"unnd iezo zum pauen die nuzlichist und peste Zeit vorhanden,"* Letter dated Prague, 31 July, 1562. StA F/M, Kaiserschreiben Nr. 1843.

A prince archbishop who was particularly exposed and vulnerable in this period happened to arrive in Frankfurt at the same time as Elizabeth and her family. Habersack reports that as the royal entourage rode over the bridge across the Main River and into the city in the evening of 23 October after weeks on the road from Prague, the prince archbishop elector Johann VI von der Leyen of Trier arrived by ship.[110] The spectacle of the prince's arrival, lit as it was by a myriad of lanterns and torches, was undoubtedly impressive. It was through his lands that the troops being sent into the religious wars in France often marched or rode. His archdiocese and his prince-bishopric were situated at the awkward confluence of the lands of the Spanish Habsburgs, the French Valois, and a multitude of imperial princes, including the duke of Lorraine and Elizabeth's uncle Wilhelm of Julich-Cleves.[111] Even his cathedral city was causing him difficulties: Koblenz on the Rhine River often seemed a safer and more central place to reside than his exposed (but historic) seat in the city of Trier up the Mosel River. The city fathers of Trier, like those in Koblenz, pressed claims of jurisdictional independence with varying degrees of success.

Frankfurt was chock full by the time Elizabeth and her family arrived that evening. Even though her grandfather with his impressive entourage had yet to reach the city, the hundreds and hundreds of courtiers, servants, and officials tied to the other important courts in the Empire now represented in the Main metropolis filled it beyond capacity. This would be the last time in the history of the Empire that all of the electors would be present at an election ceremony. Most of them, as well as other related rulers, were already in the city. If Elizabeth was still awake as they entered into this busy world, she could have at

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[110] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 132. On Archbishop Johann, see Hansgeorg Molitor, *Kirchliche Reformversuche der Kurfürsten und Erzbischöfe von Trier im Zeitalter der Gegenreformation* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 23–24 and Benedict Caspar, *Das Erzbistum Trier im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung bis zur Verkündigung des Tridentinums in Trier im Jahre 1569* (Münster, 1966), pp. 89–101.

[111] Hansgeorg Molitor, "Kurtrier," pp. 50–71 in Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler, eds., *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung* Vol. 5: *Südwesten* (Munster, 1993). Parts of the prince-archbishopric were located in the archdioceses of Cologne or Mainz, and others in the dioceses of Lüttich or Metz. Much of the Trier archdiocese was located in the duchy of Luxemburg. To complicate matters even more three of the archbishop's suffragan bishoprics (Metz, Toul, Verdun) had been occupied a decade before by representatives of the French crown. A map of the archdiocese can be found bound at the end of Molitor, *Reformversuche.* Almost all of the prince-bishopric's lands were within the boundaries of the archdiocese, but much of the archdiocese lay outside of the prince-bishopric.

least glimpsed some of the people who had assembled from across the Empire for the possible election of a new King of the Romans, something not seen in Frankfurt in living memory. (This was something which would not occur there again for half a century.) The chronicler Habersack, who apparently was not present at these proceedings and relied on eyewitnesses and documents for his account, reported that more than a hundred counts and high nobles, together with over 10,000 horses, were in Frankfurt for the big event.[112]

The late-arriving queen and king of Bohemia as well as the prince archbishop of Trier and their courts remained in their lodgings the next morning, but most of the rest of the city's visitors and residents got up early in order to see the grand entrance of the emperor, an entrance which, Habersack estimated, included 6,000 horses. An English account of the emperor's arrival published three years later described the party thus: "And they rode alwyth dagges at theyr saddelbows, & everi man a heaven leash & a lyttel bugel horn about hys nck hūterlyk, and yn hys hat an oken brāche wyth faded russet leaves as token of winter."[113] The token of winter also could be read as the symbol of the last season of the old emperor's reign. It was time to set the seeds for next year's spring harvest. It was time to elect the emperor's son as his successor. The elaborate reception ceremonies took the entire day. By the time the emperor reached his apartments in Trier Court the sun was already beginning to go down.[114]

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[112] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 140. On the compilation of Habersack's text, see Karl G. Vocelka, "Der Verfasser Hans Habersack," pp. 39–42 in Habersack, *Krönungen*. In his contribution in the same work, Martin C. Mandlmayr discussed some issues regarding the reliability of Habersack's account. See his "Die Beschreibung der Krönungen durch Hans Habersack" (pp. 43–60). The German pamphlet *Wahl und Crönungs Handlung* lists precisely 14,562 horses, broken down by prince or noble. For more details on the organization of the election and coronation from the perspective of the hereditary official responsible (the Hereditary Imperial Marshall, *Reichserbmarschall*, an office owned by the Pappenheim family) see BA Reichserbmarschallisches Archiv zu Pappenheim, A II/11, 270–279. See also Kaufmann, *Variations*, pp. 26–27.

[113] *A brief rehersal & description, of the Coronatiō of the hye and myghti Prince Maximilian Kyng of Romans, Boheme Hungeri & c. Don at the famus citie of Francford yn the year of owr lord 1562. the month of November, with the coming yn of the great Turcks Embassater, & of the presents by hym given, & other thing worthy to be known.* (Gaunt, 1565). No pagination.

[114] It seems that Elizabeth and her family also stayed in the roomy Trier Court, a one-time imperial mint complex which had been bought by the archbishops of Trier back in 1380. Johann Georg Battonn, *Ortliche Beschreibung der Stadt Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt/Main, 1864), vol. 3, p. 82. See also Rudolf Jung and Carl Wolff,

A series of visits and counter-visits, banquet invitations and courtesy calls began. The women of María's court met with those of her sister-in-law the duchess of Bavaria on Monday, 26 October and together they went to see Electress Anna of Saxony and her retinue.[115] The major event of the following days was the arrival on Wednesday of the elector of Brandenburg with around 400 horse. Now all of the electors were in the city with the exception of the prince archbishop elector of Cologne: he was on his deathbed and had sent a delegation of twelve in his stead.

On Thursday, 29 October the electors and the Cologne representatives met in the city hall and began their deliberations. The meeting's agenda centered on one question: should Elizabeth's father Maximilian be chosen as his father's successor even while his father was still alive? That evening, the duke of Bavaria, Elizabeth's uncle, hosted a banquet at the stately town house and gardens on the Animal Market (today's *Zeil*) where he was lodged.[116] The ladies of the courts were invited. Duke Albrecht may not have been able to participate in the formal election deliberations earlier in the day (the Bavarian dukes had not yet gained that privilege), but he was able to participate in the informal entertaining responsibilities of court life.

By this point the possible objections on the part of the electors had already been addressed. The historian Friedrich Walter has speculated that Maximilian had gone so far as to assure a number of the Protestants outside of the formal discussions that he would not disturb the religious peace agreed upon seven years before in Augsburg. Perhaps he had even hinted at giving active support to the Lutherans' cause.[117] Only procedural matters remained. Archchancellor Daniel of

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Baudenkmäler in Frankfurt am Main, vol. 3: *Weltliche Bauten* (Frankfurt/Main, 1898), pp. 395–403.

[115] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 134. Queen María and Duchess Anna, their religious differences notwithstanding, developed a close and longstanding friendship.

[116] This was the "Klaus Bromner Haus," a new and popular place of lodging for visiting nobles and notables. Jung and Wolff, *Baudenkmäler*, pp. 455–466. Duke Albrecht wanted to break through a wall and build a bridge over the old moat so he could get into the city and to Elizabeth's family's lodgings in Trier Court more easily, but the city council did not permit it. Georg Eduard Steitz, "Die Melanchthons- und Luthersherbergen in Frankfurt am Main," *Neujahrs-Blatt den Mitgliedern des Vereins für Geschichte und Altherthumskunde zu Frankfurt am Main* (1861), p. 3. Duke Christoph of Württemberg had stayed at this house in 1558 during the certification proceedings related to Emperor Ferdinand's accession.

[117] Walter, *Wahl Maximilians II.*, p. 62.

Mainz prevailed upon the body to agree to formally receive Emperor Ferdinand to hear his arguments in favor of the election of his son. This occurred in the Frankfurt city hall the next morning. An imperial secretary read the text of the emperor's speech while the emperor and the assembled electors and officials listened. Elizabeth's father chose to stay away from the deliberations.

The timing of the meeting in Frankfurt was rather peculiar. Falling as it did on the weekend of the Festival of All Saints, an important occasion for the Rome-friendly princes and a date of controversy for those more distant from the Holy See, the festivities in Saint Bartholomew's Church and the few other religious houses in the city and its environs where traditional Latin Christian services were still held served to underline the differences between the religious camps in the Empire. The issue of saints veneration was a disputed one, and a prince such as the elector palatine who was already skeptical about the election of a fifth consecutive Habsburg candidate for the imperial title must have felt more than a little riled as he watched the emperor and his son, together with the prince archbishop electors of Mainz and Trier and the dukes of Bavaria and Jülich-Cleves, celebrate All Saints Day Mass. As if to mitigate the effects of the circumstances, Elizabeth's father Maximilian breakfasted that day with the skeptical elector and a number of other (by Habersack unnamed) electors and princes at the elector palatine's residence.[118]

The day also saw the elevation to the position of Imperial Councilor (*Reichshofrat*) of the royal and then imperial ambassador to Constantinople and the Ottoman court, Ogier Busbecq, a man who would go on to play a large role in Elizabeth's life. The illegitimate son of a Flemish nobleman, Busbecq had been born around 1522. He had studied in Louvain, Paris, Bologna, and Padua before entering Habsburg service. By the time of Elizabeth's birth in 1554, he had become active in the diplomatic corps, traveling to England as part of the royal delegation sent to congratulate Elizabeth's aunt Queen Mary and uncle Philip on the occasion of their marriage. Busbecq's status at King Ferdinand's court in the period seems to have been a modest one: records from 1554 reveal Busbecq listed among the "extraordinary servants" such as Benedict the dwarf and Hainrich Strobl the court

[118] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 140.

barber. He was the best paid of this trio: while Benedict made seven guilders a month and Hainrich ten, Busbecq pocketed twenty.[119]

Diplomatic service abroad at the dangerous post of royal representative to the Ottomans offered an avenue for advancement to the ambitious young intellectual. It also offered him a chance to scout around ancient ruins, collect Greek manuscripts and various old coins, catalog the flora, and see the important war zone in Hungary, the Balkans, and some of the Asia Minor sections of the Ottomans' expanding empire. This access to the old Roman world was important to Humanist scholars such as Busbecq. He used his chance well and is credited with having "discovered" the important Latin historical inscription known as the "*Monumentum Ancyranum*," a key text for the history of the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus. Inscribed on the ruins of a temple dedicated to Augustus and the goddess Rome, this text reportedly was a copy of an original deposited with the Vestal Virgins in Rome. The historian Theodor Mommsen is said to have referred to it as the "queen of antique inscriptions."[120]

A few months after Elizabeth had been born back in 1554, Busbecq set out on his first mission to the Ottoman leader, the imposing Sultan Suleiman the Lawgiver, also known as Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566). At first Busbecq's successes were modest. The sultan was demanding the cities of Oradea and Košice. All Busbecq could manage was the establishment of a six-month-truce. He returned to Vienna before being sent again to the great capital to try and manage a longer-term peace that would allow the Habsburgs space and time to consolidate their positions and perhaps nudge the Transylvanian rulers sufficiently to secure that territory.

Busbecq would remain on post in the Ottoman capital for close to seven years. It was the conclusion of peace between the French and the

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[119] Firnhaber, "Hofstaat," p. 28.

[120] Quoted in Ekkehard Weber, ed., *Augustus. Meine Taten* (Munich, 1970), p. 7. (Author's translation.) In his edition of the inscription, E.G. Hardy called it "perhaps the most interesting and important inscription that has ever come to light." E.G. Hardy, ed., *The Monumentum Ancyranum BC 63–AD 14* (Oxford, 1923), p. 7. The later bishop Antun Vrančić participated in this embassy as well. Birnbaum, *Humanists*, pp. 222, 227. See also Friedrich Marcks, "Zur Chronologie von Busbecks Legationis Turcicae epistolae IV," *Jahresbericht über das Königliche Pädagogium zu Putbus* 202 (1909), pp. 3–11; Zweder R.W. M. von Martels, "The Discovery of the Inscription of the Res Gestae Divi Augusti," *Res publica litterarum* 14 (1991), pp. 147–156.

Habsburgs in Iberia and Italy in 1559 which helped improve his bargaining position. He was, after many trials and tribulations, now able to return to Emperor Ferdinand with the text of an eight-year truce. As a reward for his harrowing but successful service to the crown, Busbecq was elevated in status and became an important counselor and courtier at the imperial and royal courts. His elevation to the status of Imperial Counselor on All Saints' Day, 1562 was evidence of the favor which was extended to him after his long service in Constantinople.

The next day, Monday, 2 November, the social scene shifted to the roomy Carmelite friary in the city where Elizabeth's uncle the duke of Jülich-Cleves had taken up residence.[121] Her father and mother, together with the electors and the duchesses of Bavaria and Saxony, feasted and danced together in the richly-painted red stone complex located not far from the city hall where the preliminary meetings concerning the election had taken place the previous week. Of course the duke's hospitality required a reply and on Tuesday, 3 November Elizabeth's father hosted what Habersack reported as a "stately large banquet" to which all the electors and other princes were invited "and everyone was on good terms and happy with each other."[122] Wednesday saw a banquet hosted by Imperial Chancellor Daniel of Mainz.

It is not clear from the chronicle how often Elizabeth participated in this endless litany of banquets. When the queen of Bohemia is mentioned as having been present, it probably also means that her daughters attended, but the sources do not permit a detailed listing of all of the festivities in which the archduchess participated. The role that a description of the various feasts, dances, invitations, and attendance plays in the quasi-official account by the secretary Habersack reveals just how important these social opportunities were. The formal outcome of the meeting was already determined before the princesses and princes arrived. It was the networking and display of this election meeting which were in many ways more significant than the election itself. When an elector or prince arrived with his armed retinue of

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[121] The Carmelite friary in Frankfurt had been built in 1246. Merchants from Antwerp and Mecheln in the Low Countries traditionally had celebrated the church's foundation festival there each year during the Frankfurt Fall Fair. The complex had also been used as the original offices of the Imperial Cameral Court after its foundation in 1495. Andreas Niedermayer, *Die Deutschorden Kommende Frankfurt/Main: Ein Beitrag zu deren Geschichte* (Frankfurt/Main, 1874), pp. 49–50.

[122] *"ain stattlich groß panngget gehalten," "und seind alle mitainannder guetter ding und frölich gewesen."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 141.

hundreds of mounted knights, he was making a political statement. Secretary Habersack duly noted the reports of the numbers of horses in each entourage.

The arriving notables included the ladies of the courts represented. Some of the most important ladies present, in addition to Queen María and her two daughters, were the electress of Saxony, the duchess of Bavaria, and the duchess of the important border-zone Duchy of Lorraine. She would arrive later with her daughter. The later English account reported that these women attended "wyth manny other great ladies & damosels vnknowen."[123]

Which princess or prince was honored by the presence of the emperor, queen, or king at her or his lodgings was significant. The appearance of the royal couple's four children in the court's public activities also served to underline the promise of an orderly succession and the international ties which the children represented. Even attendance at Mass was filled with significance and underlined the roles of the various actors in this assemblage in matters touching on the divisive issues of religious practice and belief which had rent the Empire for a generation. The fact that the elector of Brandenburg attended services on Sunday, 8 November with the emperor, the king, both archbishop electors, and the duke of Jülich-Cleves and "stayed also for the sermon and the entire ceremony" (that is, including the controversial consecration and elevation of the host and wine) was recorded by Habersack for posterity.[124] The elector's actions were recorded in the memories of those present as well.

Following Sunday services, Emperor Ferdinand hosted a banquet attended by all the electors. By way of contrast, Haberstack reported that on the following Sunday, 15 November, the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate excused themselves from the services following a morning meeting concerning election preparations.[125] The elector of Brandenburg, on the other hand, remained.

Although it is likely that Archduchess Elizabeth was at many of the public religious ceremonies held during the courts' over six-week-long stay in Frankfurt, she probably was not present at meetings relating to the election such as the one on 4 November when the electors went to

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[123] *brief rehersal*, Unpaginated.

[124] *"…auch bey der predig und allem gotsdiennst verbliben ist."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 143.

[125] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 146.

her grandfather Ferdinand and told him they thought that his health and his government were so good that he did not at that point require a designated successor. After Emperor Ferdinand declined this point as a purely formal one presented for reasons of etiquette, the electors agreed to authorize Prince Archbishop Daniel of Mainz as Imperial Chancellor to formally call for an election of a King of the Romans. Elizabeth was probably also not present the same day as the emperor received delegates from the French prince of Condé who presented their case concerning the bloody course of events in that kingdom for over an hour in a special audience. Thoughts of the unrest in France hung in the Frankfurt air that Fall.

Things had become complicated on 5 November when the news arrived that the prince archbishop elector of Cologne had died. His death meant that the authority given to his representatives at Frankfurt was no longer valid, and any election or even decision of the Council of Electors now had to be postponed until a legal successor to the late archbishop was elected or the cathedral chapter in Cologne gave the old or new delegates authority to act in the name of the collective. This also meant that the election had to be postponed, providing more time for banquets, visits, and hunts. *Ad hoc* contests of skill such as running at the rings were organized between noblemen to help pass the shortening but numerous November days.

Another consequence of the postponement was ceremonially significant: the French ambassador reported to Dowager Queen Catherine from Frankfurt on 12 November that it had been decided to change tradition and hold both the election and the coronation in Frankfurt, cutting the long-standing coronation site of Aachen out of the picture.[126] This decision, made because of particular circumstances relating to the time of year and the untimely death of the archbishop of Cologne, marked the end of Aachen coronations. The city fathers

[126] Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I. und das Konzil von Trient," p. 355. Habersack reported that other reasons for the decision to not perform the coronation ceremony in Aachen included concern for the weather, particularly the state of the Rhine River, and the recognition of the fact that the new unconsecrated and unconfirmed prince archbishop elector of Cologne could not be consecrated or confirmed by the pope in time to officiate at the ceremony in Aachen, which was located in his archdiocese. Frankfurt was in the archdiocese of Mainz. The Mainz archbishop was accredited and ready to go. Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 148.

there objected to no avail.[127] No more kings or emperors would sit on Charlemagne's throne in Aachen's legendary octagonal church. The Habsburg emperors had been moving away from a papal role in the coronation process; now they were moving away from other aspects of its medieval roots, too.

Elizabeth had been taken from her staid world in Neustadt Castle and thrown into months of travels and celebrations. Her political and geographic education was proceeding rapidly, with examples from real life to supplement and reinforce whatever lessons she had learned from the children's tutors and chaplains and from the manuscripts, monuments, windows, and sculptures of her residence. Her social education proceeded apace, too: banquets provided the opportunities to practice the elaborate rituals of courtly etiquette she had been taught, and to adapt to the various differences between the Portuguese and Spanish mores of her mother's court and those of the Bohemians or the Germans. (These were all increasingly subsumed under a more generic, Italianate culture now in fashion.) Dances provided opportunities to watch, learn, and perform the complex choreography of stately ritualized movement that a prospective queen was expected to master. The courts of Queen María, Electress Anna of Saxony, and Duchess Anna of Bavaria all appeared at the Sunday festivities following Mass on 15 November hosted by the emperor. The feeling in the room was good as Elizabeth's almost 60-year-old grandfather Ferdinand, who claimed that he needed his son Maximilian elected King of the Romans because Ferdinand was so ill, got up and danced, prompting the other princes there to follow suit.[128]

Word reached the court from Cologne that the election of a new archbishop was preceding. Finally, preparations could begin for the big day. Imperial Chancellor Daniel issued the formal citation to the electors and announced on 17 November that the ceremony would be held a week later, on Tuesday, 24 November. The city was transformed as a committee of court officials went over the last-minute preparations. Elizabeth would have heard and seen the laying of planks

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[127] The texts of the Aachen protest on 12 November and the electors' and emperor's answer of 17 November is printed in Johann Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Sammlung ungedruckter und zu den Geschichten, auch Staats-Lehn- und andern Rechten des Heil. Römischen Reichs gehöriger Nachrichten, Documenten und Urkunden*, Part Two (Halle, 1737), pp. 418–424.

[128] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 146.

along the streets from her father's apartments to Saint Bartholomew's Church where the election was to be held in a room adjoining the choir. Tribunes, risers and a raised walkway between the church and the city hall had to be built, as did the temporary roasting spit on the main city square which was to provide the coronation specialties the occasion demanded. Seating arrangements and security precautions were discussed in detail. The Frankfurt militia was informed of its role clearing and guarding the king's route as well as manning the city walls. Records were consulted as to how things had been done for earlier elections and coronations. Speeches were written. It must have been an exciting time for the eight-year-old archduchess Elizabeth as her role and that of the rest of her mother's court was discussed and rehearsed. As the youngest participant in the ceremonies, she had a particular role to play.

One privilege held by the Imperial Hereditary Marshals was to supervise the Jewish visitors to the city during the period of the election and to collect a special tax levied on them in exchange for providing protection and the adjudication of disputes. The marshal listed the 48 Jews present (12 of them from Prague) who each owed one guilder and one shilling. His records also reveal some use of the office's judicial function: Joseph zum gulden Schwann, for example, was sued by a lawyer for an alleged debt, and two Jews, Abraham and Mendle, came before the marshal with another debt-related case.[129] Elizabeth would have had the opportunity, as in Prague, to see representatives of the Empire's Jewish community.

Controversy broke out in the days preceding the scheduled election. On 18 November Philip de Croy, the duke of Arschot, arrived at the head of around a hundred horse. Elizabeth's uncle Duke Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves rode out to meet the delegation and to escort Arschot into the city. Of venerable Burgundian lineage, the duke was in town, as he had been in Vienna two years before, as the official representative of another of Elizabeth's uncles, King Philip of Spain, the ruler of the neighboring Low Countries. Arschot had been instructed to serve as an advocate for the election of Philip's brother-in-law Maximilian as well as to encourage the Protestant princes in the Empire to send representatives to the church council meeting in Trent.[130]

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[129] BA Reichserbmarschall A II/11, 314, 316–317, 320–321.

[130] Habsersack, *Krönungen*, p. 154. On Arschot's mission, see Walter, *Wahl Maximilians II.*, p. 65.

Anti-Spanish feeling ran high and suspicions deep in some parts of the Empire. The electors tried to block Arschot's visit by pointing to a little-used passage in the Golden Bull, the fourteenth-century imperial decree that had established the basic operating procedures for the election and coronation of the rulers of the Empire. The passage stated that only the electors were to be permitted to attend the election. The intention of the restriction was to limit outside pressure on the electors, an issue of concern, for example, in neighboring Poland-Lithuania.

Of course, this stipulation had been honored in the breach for weeks, as the retinues of numerous noblemen residing in the city attested. It could be argued that Elizabeth's two uncles the dukes of Bavaria and Jülich-Cleves as well as their ally (and the duke of Bavaria's cousin) the duke of Württemberg had received special invitations and permission to attend the election in the capacity of advisors to the king and emperor, but the duke of Arschot appeared as the representative, in many eyes, of a foreign state, even though some of the territories over which his king ruled such as the Low Countries or the duchy of Milan were still at least nominally part of the Empire.

As so often in these cases, the emperor had to adjudicate a solution wherein Arschot was permitted to attend the ceremonies, but imperial letters specifically renewing and confirming the existing electoral privilege which was being circumvented were issued so that this permission could not be construed as a precedent.[131] Similar steps were taken with the representatives of the city government of Aachen who were outraged at the decision to hold the coronation ceremony in Frankfurt. They were given imperial confirmation of their right and privilege to host imperial and royal coronations.

News of the unanimous election on 19 November of Count Friedrich von Witt as the new prince archbishop elector of Cologne reached the court at Frankfurt two days later. Emperor Ferdinand had assured him that lodgings in Frankfurt would be waiting. Imperial coaches were sent to meet the newest elector at Limburg so he could disembark from his boat ride up the Rhine and Lahn rivers and hurry over the Taunus Mountains down into the election and coronation city on the Main as quickly as possible.

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[131] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 144. The Frankfurt city council had tried to avoid taking the oath requiring them to follow the rules concerning the limitations on the visitors permitted in the city, but to no avail. Walter calls this a "kleine, halbkomische Episode" in *Wahl Maximilians II.*, p. 63.

In the city on the eve of the scheduled election ceremony, Elizabeth's uncle and aunt, Albrecht and Anna of Bavaria, hosted an early party for the king-to-be, his wife, the emperor, Anna and August of Saxony, Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves, and Christoph of Württemberg. Elizabeth, her sister and brothers were probably in attendance. A dance followed the festive meal where yet again Elizabeth's happy grandfather Ferdinand took to the dance floor to celebrate his son's upcoming accession.[132] This group represented King Maximilian's inner circle of friends, relatives and associates. Significantly, it included Protestants as well as religious traditionalists. It did not include the Spanish ambassador or any of the other electors besides Saxony. They danced and partied until three in the afternoon when the celebration broke up in time for everyone to return to their lodgings and make the final preparations for the next day's ceremonies.

Was Elizabeth nervous as the hours ticked down to the election? There was still tension at the court: where was the new Cologne archbishop? It was not until late in the night, probably after Elizabeth was asleep, that the hurried new elector's sixteen or so coaches rolled into the city, only hours before the festivities were to begin. Another set of guests arrived at Frankfurt's gates that night: riding more than sixty horses and six camels, the Ottoman delegation sent to confirm the stipulations of the eight-year truce on the Hungarian front which Ogier Busbecq had negotiated had arrived.[133] Now the celebrations could begin.

Elizabeth and her mother's court assembled at Saint Bartholomew's Church on the slight rise from the city hall "Am Römer" where the electors were meeting that Tuesday morning, 24 November.[134] Her

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[132] Haversack, *Krönungen*, p. 155.

[133] For an image of the Ottoman document ratifying the peace dated Constantinople, 2 Aug., 1562, see: Bahlcke and Dudeck, eds., *Welt-Macht-Geist*, p. 273.

[134] The following account is based largely on Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 155–161 and the contemporary unpaginated, published account *Wahrhafftige Beschreibung der Erwehlung Maximilian/ König in Böhem/ u. zum Römischen König/ geschehen in Franckfurt am Mayn/ 1562. den 24. Novembris*. Bound with *Wahl und Crönung Handlung* cited above in reference to the Bohemian coronation. See also the report and records of the archbishop of Mainz's secretary Simon Bagen which are printed as "Acta der Wahl und Crönung Maximiliani II," pp. 293–456 in Hoffmann, *Sammlung*. Some discussion of the preparations and details of the election can be found in BA Reichserbmarschallisches Archiv zu Pappenheim, A I/2 and A I/3 (a description by Heinrich von Pappenheim, the Reichserbmarschall). See also pp. 37–102 in Wanger, *Kaiserwahl*, which deals mostly with a later set of elections but can help to situate this earlier one. Altfahrt discusses the coronation briefly: "politische Propaganda," p. 304.

father entered the imposing and spacious red church wearing the garb of an imperial elector and the crown of the kingdom of Bohemia. The elector of Saxony walked before him with the sheathed Imperial Sword. The elector of Brandenburg was carried in on a chair. King Maximilian and the other electors proceeded into the choir, three sitting to the right and three to the left, with the elector of Trier in the middle. Then the prince-bishop of Würzburg Friedrich von Wirsberg began.

Soon after the start of the service, the elector palatine stood up as expected and walked out of the choir, not wanting to participate in the disputed Mass. Moments later, the other two electors, the duke of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg, also stood up, but they walked around the corner to the room in which the election traditionally took place. Recognizing his error, the elector palatine went to join them. A number of Protestant nobles in the congregation also left the nave. Elizabeth's father and the three archbishops remained for the entire Mass. When it ended, the three absent electors and the others returned. After a prayer around Archbishop Trier, they went to the altar where they took turns accepting oaths from each other concerning the upcoming election, swearing by the Gospels that they were selecting "a king and future emperor" "according to their best judgment and understanding" and without "any agreement, payment, compensation, promise or whatever term may be used."[135]

Then they all went into the electoral chamber. After a brief while, some specific councilors were called in, and then two secretaries. Finally, Elizabeth was able to see the archbishop of Mainz exit the chapel and turn to the assembled to announce the results of the election. It was unanimous: Elizabeth's father was to be the designated heir to the imperial crown. Before the election could be finalized, however, the emperor had to be notified. A number of the younger princes in the assemblage (their elders and the emperor had waited in the emperor's apartments) were delegated to bring the news to Emperor Ferdinand and to request his presence at the church to formally accept the electors' decision.

The emperor eventually arrived. In full imperial garb and accompanied by the electors, he processed across the church to the election chamber. The elector palatine carried the imperial orb, the elector of

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[135] *"ain romischen khünig und zuekhünnfftigen kayser," "nach irer besten vernunfft und verstenndtnus," "auß khainem geding, sold, lohn, verhaiß oder wie das genennt werden mechte."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 157.

Saxony the sword, and the elector of Brandenburg the scepter. After some time, Emperor Ferdinand, King Maximilian, the electors, and all the others in the chamber appeared again to the assembled and marched Maximilian to the high altar. At this moment a loud *Te Deum* was sung by the choir to the accompaniment of the organ, drums were beaten, and over sixty trumpets heralded the new king with fanfares. Maximilian was seated on the altar and the elector of Brandenburg placed the crown on his head. Bishop Friedrich of Würzburg sang Psalm 20: "In thy strength, O Lord, the king shall joy…" Elizabeth's father was now the designated King of the Romans.

The emperor, the new king, and the electors went to a stage set up in the nave where the dean of the Mainz cathedral announced the election and imperial confirmation of the King of the Romans to the assembled throng. At this, the church's bells began to ring wildly, a ringing which was taken up across the city. Cannon fire began in honor of the occasion. The election was noised about. Habersack reported that "there was so much celebrating, in the churches and in the streets, and so many people were about that no one could get through."[136] Commemorative coins specially minted for the occasion showing Elizabeth's father and mother wearing crowns were distributed to the masses.[137] Elizabeth and her sister, brothers, and mother met the new king and the emperor in the latter's apartments after the ceremony and celebrated together before returning to their lodgings accompanied by the dukes of Bavaria, Jülich-Cleves, and Württemberg. Habersack was sure to chronicle how celebratory the burghers of Frankfurt were: "not enough can be written or spoken about such happiness."[138]

The following day was the Feast of Saint Catherine, a saint well known to Elizabeth from her residence in Neustadt Castle. After all of the preceding day's excitement, the imperial court chose to celebrate the festival privately. Did some of the court think in their prayers of their unhappy relative off in Lithuania, Elizabeth's aunt Katharina, who probably was celebrating her name day not knowing of the tri-

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[136] *"…ist ain solche freüd, zu khirchen und auf der gassen auch so vil volckhs beyainannder gewesen, das man schier ninndert hat khummen mügen."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 161.

[137] Eduard Fellner and Paul Joseph, *Die Münzen von Frankfurt am Main. Supplement* (Frankfurt am Main, 1903), Nr. 2101, p. 798. With busts of the royal couple. Cast silver medallions, 32 mm diameter.

[138] *"von solcher freuden nit gnueg geschriben oder geredet mechte werden."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 161.

umphs of her brother the new King of the Romans? The veneration of the saint whose image had looked down on Archduchess Elizabeth from her perch high on the façade of Neustadt's Saint George Chapel, with her honored position next to Saint Mary and Child, was popular in many circles of the Empire and across Europe.

Various imperial lords used Saint Catherine's feast day to approach the emperor with personal concerns. Other lords and military officials began to trickle into the Free City in preparation for the coronation festivities. These included Low Countries notables such as the Knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Jean le Ligne, Count Arenberg and Philippe, Count Hornes. The bishop of Speyer, Marquart von Hattstein, following Emperor Ferdinand's instructions, also rode into Frankfurt that feast day after traveling from his important Rhenish bishopric. The coronation provided the opportunity to many people from the Empire's troubled southwestern and western regions to come together to discuss the unsettling course of events there. They could do so partly under the cover of the happy festivities. Elizabeth would have the chance to at least see and perhaps meet some of the men who would play key roles in the tumultuous events of the next years in the Habsburgs' Burgundian holdings.

Felicitas Colonna von Völs and the captain of the Imperial Archers, Count Otto von Eberstein, who had had the honor to carry the Bohemian royal scepter at Elizabeth's father's coronation in Prague, had chosen this day in Frankfurt to celebrate their wedding. The weddings of courtiers always provided the chance to show noble favor, build social connections, and display status. Court weddings were events where female members of the entourages were able to play particularly active roles. This wedding could have been no different. Held on an important female saint's day in a key moment between the election and coronation of the heir to the imperial throne, the Völs-Eberstein alliance was celebrated in the presence of the newly-elected king, all of the electors, and the duchesses of Bavaria and Saxony. The couple, of comtal stock, could never have achieved such a glittering guest list outside of such an occasion.

Juan Manrique de Lara y de Mendoza was sent to Rome the next day to officially notify the pope of Maximilian's election. Fearing papal disapproval or the assertion of a papal role in the confirmation or selection of the emperor-to-be, this step had not been taken earlier. Many of the leading men at Frankfurt were none too happy with the course of events at the Church council to the south, or with the papacy more

generally. After his accession a few years before, Emperor Ferdinand had confronted an unhappy pope and had succeeded (eventually) in gaining papal recognition of his position. Manrique de Lara was sent southward on a rather sensitive mission. As he was preparing to leave, all of the electors as well as the leading adherents of the Augsburg Confession present in Frankfurt were before the emperor formally and publicly protesting the council in Trent.

Ogier Busbecq accompanied the Ottoman embassy to their public audience with Elizabeth's grandfather and father on 27 November. The public interest was intense, with crowds watching the ambassador and his entourage as they made their way through the streets of the city to the lodgings of the emperor. Stories of "Turks'" prowess and atrocities had been around for quite some time. Vienna had established its reputation partly on its successful defense faced by an Ottoman siege 33 years before, and the Habsburgs owed at least some if not the predominant part of their political support in central Europe to the role they played as defenders of Christendom versus this "hereditary enemy" as the Ottomans were often called. The chambers and antechambers of Emperor Ferdinand's apartments were packed with courtiers, officials, princes, and others as the Ottoman representatives spoke words of peace and brought presents and promises that prisoners taken from Elizabeth's Uncle Philip's armed forces were to be freed.

It is not clear if Elizabeth attended these memorable meetings. She may have seen the fancily-dressed ambassador and his servants on their way to or from the audience, or at some time during their stay in Frankfurt. The gifts they brought may also have been perused at length in private with her grandfather, mother, father, sister, and brothers. These included camels, which were then added to the various zoos the Habsburgs kept. Habersack reported that the gifts also included tents and "some beautiful Turkish things and work, including some alabaster dishes which [according to the ambassador] previously had belonged to an old queen from Persia."[139] An account of this famous Ottoman embassy published in English three years later reported that the gifts included "certain auncient Vessel & dyshys, of purcelā, & other old monumēts late fownd vnder the earth, wyth in the temple

[139] *"…etliche schöne türckhische sachen und arbait, darunndter etliche geschirr von alabaster gewest, so seinem antzaigen nach vor zeitten ainer allten künigin auß Persien zugehört hetten."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 166.

of Sāta Sophia yn Cōstātinople…"[140] A contemporary German pamphlet listed a horse, a dog, a bow, a quiver, arrows, and four spears.[141] Elizabeth's education was continuing: now she had physical evidence of Persians, Ottomans, and ancient Romans from Constantinople in her environment. Her schooling was not just in books, it was in sights and things.

In Frankfurt am Main, the Order of the Golden Fleece entered Elizabeth's life in a way different from the way which she had experienced the order whose members were depicted in the stained glass windows of Neustadt Castle. On Sunday, 29 November, the eve of the great feast for the order's patron, Saint Andrew, the eldest knight of the order present in the Free City, Emperor Ferdinand, presided over an elaborate banquet. King-Elect Maximilian, another member of the order, hosted the festivities. The duke of Arschot, a Knight himself, represented the *chef et souverain* of the Order, King Philip of Spain. Eight other Knights were also seated at the banquet table: Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, Count Jean of Arenberg, Count Philippe of Hornes, Prince William of Orange, Baron Vratislav of Pernšteýn, Marquis Guillaume of Renty, Count Antoine of Hoogstraeten, and Baron Jáchym of Hradec. The mixing of the Low Countries or Burgundian elite with that of the Bohemian kingdom among these eleven Knights was clear, as was the intermediary role of the Empire, its institutions and constituent pieces. This was another aspect of Archduchess Elizabeth's world: Spanish-centered in many ways, it also included heavy doses of the Low Countries and Bohemia.

Emperor Ferdinand had entered the Order as a child when he was in Brussels visiting his late brother Charles, then the *chef et souverain*, back in 1515. Elizabeth's father, her uncle Duke Albrecht of Bavaria, and Duke Jean of Arenberg had entered together as young men at the chapter meeting over which Emperor Charles had presided in Utrecht in 1546. Arschot, Hornes, Orange, and Pernšteýn had all entered under the current regime of King Philip at the chapter meeting held in Antwerp seven years before, and Renty and Hoggenstraeten were inducted at the last general chapter meeting. It had been held in Ghent just three years before the election meeting in Frankfurt. Hradec, the

[140] *brief rehersal*, n.p.

[141] *Copey der Credenz/ und Instruction/ so Ibrahim Strotsch/ deß Türckischen Keysers Legat/ für Key. Und Kön. May. Auch andern Chur und Fürsten deß Reichs/ in Türckischer hat eyngelegt*. Bound with *Wahl und Crönungs Handlung*. Unpaginated.

newest Knight present at the banquet, had been elevated by simple order of King Philip as part of the Order's move away from its traditions and roots in the Low Countries.[142]

The memories and shared status of the eleven Knights, colleagues-at-arms as well as influential political players in their own rights, masked divisions that would soon wrack the Low Countries. Emperor Ferdinand would not live to see the Knights turn on each other, or the violent splits which would occur in his family's Burgundian territories over the course of the upcoming decades. For now, Elizabeth and the others present in Frankfurt could look upon the ornately-dressed Knights of the Golden Fleece with their banquets and traditions as fighters for a common cause, in service to Saint Andrew and Christianity. The chivalric literature and popular romances of the day which influenced the court entertainments meshed well with the knightly ethos of this prestigious order. Dreams of medieval knights attracted not only the attention of the eight-year-old archduchess. They also somehow bound men's political imaginations, at least for a few more years.

The Holy Roman Empire blended into the Kingdom of France in the disputed duchy of Lorraine. In the late afternoon of Saint Andrew's Eve, while the Knights of the Golden Fleece assembled to pay their saintly patron (and each other) respect, nineteen-year-old Duke Charles III of Lorraine arrived near Frankfurt with his mother Dowager Duchess Christine, his sister Renate, and his cousin Nicolas, Count of Vaudémont. Duke Charles had been raised in France and was married to Claude, the sister of that kingdom's king, the young Charles IX. The duke was in Frankfurt, however, to place his duchy securely in the sphere of the Empire through the emperor's grant of his ducal fief. This two-sided policy was important and perhaps essential for the political survival of the leaders of the borderlands duchy. As a public admission of the importance of the duchy, that evening King Maximilian, Elector August of Saxony, Duke William of Jülich-Cleves, and other important princes rode out of the city to receive the members of the Lorraine delegation. They had arrived just in time for the coronation the following day.

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[142] He had been one of Ferdinand's closest advisors, particularly when dealing with issues relating to Bohemian affairs: Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte und Berater," pp. 297, 299. Hradec would continue to play an important role in Maximilian's government until his death in 1565. He was followed in this role by Pernšteýn.

The borderlands region of eastern France and the southwestern Empire was of concern to many at the assembly. In his electoral compact (*Wahlkapitulation*), Maximilian had agreed to 37 articles as conditions for his election and acclamation as King of the Romans. Dated 30 November, 1562, the compact included Article Three, a pledge to abide by the religious settlement of 1555, and Article Nine, a pledge to return lost principalities to the Holy Roman Empire. This meant in particular the rights of rulership associated with the territories of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, a sore point since the earlier French king Henri II had annexed them to his crown. This question seriously burdened Franco-Imperial relations in mid-century.[143]

Early that Saint Andrew's Day Elizabeth and the rest of her mother's court entered Saint Bartholomew's Church and prepared to witness the royal coronation from a tribune set up for them.[144] Also seated with Queen María, Elizabeth, her sister Anna, and their brothers Rudolf and Ernst were the electress of Saxony, the duchesses of Bavaria and Lorraine, and the latter's eighteen-year-old daughter Renate. The archbishops of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, together with the bishops of Würzburg and Speyer, put on their ceremonial robes in the sacristy and then went to the door of the church to meet the procession of the secular princes who were progressing on foot from the emperor's lodgings.

Imperial Chancellor, Prince Archbishop Elector Daniel of Mainz led the way into the church accompanied by clerics carrying a silver cross and the archbishop's crosier. A knight carried a silver staff representing the prince-archbishop's secular authority. The prince-bishops of Würzburg and Speyer, substituting for the prince archbishop electors of Cologne and Trier who were not ordained and therefore ineligible to participate in the sacred phases of the ceremony, walked into the church on either side of Elizabeth's father. He wore a long golden robe trimmed in ermine over a tight-fitting red satin tunic. They were followed by the three other secular electors: the palatine on the right

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[143] Ingrid Wurtzbacher-Rundholz, *Kaiser und Reich von Kaiser Maximilian I. bis Kaiser Maximilian II.* (Frankfurt/Main, 1983) pp. 115–116.

[144] This account is based on Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 167–170; Hoffmann, *Sammlung*, pp. 432–447; *brief rehersal*. See also BA Reichserbmarschall, A II/ 11, 279–289. For the general context in the history of Imperial coronations, see Winfried Dotzauer, "Die Entstehung der frühneuzeitlichen deutschen Thronerhebung. Säkularisation und Reformation," pp. 1–20 in Heinz Duchhardt, ed., *Herrscherweihe und Königskrönung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Wiesbaden, 1983). Here, pp. 14–18.

carrying the orb, Saxony in the middle with the sword, and Brandenburg to the left with the scepter. After the electors walked Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand and then the two ecclesiastical electors Cologne and Trier.

The emperor and the secular electors sat down when the procession reached the choir and their assigned seats. The assembled notables across from them and on risers in the nave included the dukes of Bavaria, Jülich-Cleves, Mecklenburg, Württemberg, Lorraine, Arschot, Lauenberg, and Anhalt, the prince of Orange, the Grandmaster and other Teutonic Knights, as well as leading Knights of Saint John, numerous counts palatine and landgraves, and the papal nuntio Zaccaria Delfino. The Roman Queen-Elect's High Chancellor, Abbot Wolfgang Schutzbar of the Imperial Free Abbey of Fulda, was there too.[145] The ambassador from France, Bochetel, and representatives of Portugal, Poland, Denmark, Pomerania, Venice, Mantua, Florence, Ferrara and the Ottomans also were present. Ominously, the French Protestant leader Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé's representatives were in the church that morning, too. They had been cultivating ties with various Protestant lords in the Empire and raising mercenary cavalry units to support their leader's military undertakings.

King Maximilian waited until his father had taken his seat and then prostrated himself before the altar as the Mass began, with music and prayers from the liturgy tied to the Feast of the Epiphany. (Did Elizabeth recognize the liturgical references to this child-friendly festival?) Soon thereafter, the elector palatine absented himself and retired to the electoral chapel, as he had on the day of the election.

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[145] The abbots of Fulda held the title of Primate of the Benedictine Houses in Germany and Gaul as well as the right listed in the Golden Bull to hold the office of archchancellor of the queen or empress, with the privilege of participating in her coronation. Apparently, Queen María was not crowned in a public ceremony, perhaps to reduce concerns over Maximilian's Iberian marriage and his controversial brother-in-law King Philip of Spain. The next public coronation of an empress would take place in Frankfurt in 1612 when a later prince archbishop elector of Mainz crowned Elizabeth's sister-in-law and cousin Anna. She reigned from 1612 until her death in 1618. Anna would be crowned María's successor as Queen of Hungary in 1613 and Queen of Bohemia in 1616, ending decades without queens on those thrones. On Empress Anna, see Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 57–58. On the empresses' coronations: Wanger, *Kaiserwahl*, pp. 161–169. On Schutzbar, see Gerrit Walther, *Abt Balthasars Mission. Politische Mentalitäten, Gegenreformation und eine Adelsverschwörung im Hochstift Fulda* (Göttingen, 2002), pp. 132–137. On his participation in the 1562 coronation: p. 106.

Archbishop Daniel of Mainz presided over the ceremony and, according to Habersack, asked the king-designate "if he wanted to keep the common Christian faith, protect the Christian church, administer fairly, expand and keep the Empire, protect widows, orphans, and all poor people, and show the Pope in Rome the honor due him."[146] Maximilian answered in the affirmative to all the questions. Then Archbishop Daniel took the chrism and anointed the king on his head, breast, shoulders, right arm and both hands. The margrave of Brandenburg ceremonially washed the oil from the king, who then went into the election chapel where he was ceremonially dressed "as a deacon with Emperor Charlemagne's clothes."[147] Bagen's report of the ceremony went on to say that Maximilian also received "a long stole around the neck, crossed in the front over the breast in the manner of a priest's."[148]

Elizabeth's father was then brought back to the high altar where the archbishop of Mainz gave him the drawn sword of Saint Charlemagne and ordered him to work for the Empire's common good.[149] Maximilian sheathed the sword and the electors of Saxony and the Palatinate came and formally girded it about him. Mainz draped a royal cape around Maximilian's shoulders and put a ring on his finger before solemnly handing him the scepter and orb which were believed, as Habersack reported, together with the imperial crown, to have "belonged to Charlemagne."[150] The three ecclesiastical electors, aided by the bishops

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[146] *"…ob sy wolte den allgemainen christenlichen glauben behalten, die cristlich khürch beschirmen, die gerechtigkhait verwallten, das Reich mehren und erhalten, wittiben und waisen und alles arm volckh hanndthaben und dem babst zu Rom gebürliche her beweisen."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 169.

[147] *"wie ain deacon mit kayser Carls des Grossen klaydern,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 169.

[148] *"eine lange stola um den Halß, vorn über die Brust hinab Creuzweiß in Gestalt eines Priesters,"* Hoffmann, *Sammlung*, p. 439. On the stole, see Bock, *Kleinodien*, vol. 2, pp. 61–63.

[149] The sword is referred to as having belonged to Saint Charles in the account by the Mainz secretary Bagen: see "Acta," p. 443. Charlemagne had been canonized by the (anti-)pope Paschal III in 1165 and his position as a saint was disputed but popular in some areas of the Empire such as, not surprisingly, his burial site of Aachen. "Charlemagne," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (NY, 1908). Accessed via www.newadvent.org, 4/12/07. In her article on the Empire and its cities, Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch discussed how Frankfurt am Main was particularly tied to memories of Charlemagne: "Das mittelalterliche Reich in der Reichsstadt," pp. 399–439 in Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, eds., *Heilig. Römisch. Deutsch. Das Reich im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Dresden, 2006). Here, pp. 403–411.

[150] *"kayser Carl dem Grossen haben zuegehört,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 169.

of Würzburg and Speyer, jointly placed the crown on the king's head. Maximilian swore an oath on the Gospels before Mainz led him to a raised stage decorated with tapestries where a throne was standing. With congratulatory words, the archbishop sat the new King of the Romans on his throne and a *Te Deum* was happily intoned, accompanied by the sound of the organ, trumpets, and drums.

Before hearing the remainder of the Mass, King Maximilian dubbed a number of important imperial nobles, including the elector palatine's two sons Hans Casimir and Ludwig. He participated in the Offering but did not take Communion in both kinds as tradition dictated. At the end of the service, two canons from Aachen approached the King of the Romans with their chapter's congratulations. They then administered an oath and formally accepted Maximilian into the Aachen chapter. As in the Bohemian ceremony, Maximilian was being admitted into some level of the clergy. He was consecrated with oil, wore the cleric's stole, and was now a canon. He could also be depicted with the royal crown instead of the more modest one he wore on earlier medals and medallions: the popular dual busts on coins showing María and Maximilian now had the new symbol of authority.[151]

Elizabeth and the ladies of the court withdrew from Saint Bartholomew's Church and went to the lodgings of the electress of Saxony where a brunch was served. The new King of the Romans and his father Emperor Ferdinand marched in procession from the church to a series of ceremonial banquets and activities in the city square and town hall. Banquets and celebrations continued for days. 1 December saw "a knightly diversion" of running at the rings which lasted until dark and in which Elizabeth's father participated.[152] The festivities following the coronation included a fireworks display put on by the city government centered on what a pamphlet described as a "beautiful, high square house" built in the middle of the Main River which was stormed and then set on fire, while the city's cannons thundered "so much that the ground shook."[153] 2 December was the day of banquet

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[151] Habich, *Schaumünzen*, vol. 1, p. 213 (Nr. 1516). Earlier depictions of the couple had Maximilian wearing his "*Zackenkrone*." See for example, *ibid.*, p. 215 (Nr. 1526). Saurma-Jeltsch pointed out that due to the saint's patronage of the election church, newly-elected kings would be first placed under the protection of Saint Bartholomew: Saurma-Jelitsch, "mittelalterliches Reich," p. 408.

[152] *"ain ritterliche kurtzweil,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 175.

[153] *"lustigs/ hohes/ viereckers Hauß," "daß sich der Boden erschüttert hat." Wahl und Crönungs Handlung*, n.p.

in the city hall's large chamber hosted by Emperor Ferdinand to which all of the ladies of the various courts were invited, in addition to the new king and the electors. "After this banquet one also danced until four," Habersack informs.[154] 3 December Maximilian hosted another feast for the courts, including the ladies and princesses.

Things began breaking up as the week progressed. The six electors met privately with Emperor Ferdinand one last time on 3 December. 4 December saw the departure of the Saxon electoral pair. Other lords began appearing at court to ask the emperor's leave. Representatives of the prince of Condé met with him for an hour explaining their position in the violence taking place in France. Mercenaries were being raised in the Empire in his name to support his undertakings. The French Protestants wanted to make sure that this source of men remained available to them, and explained that the emperor should not see their actions as revolts against constituted authority. A little over two weeks after this meeting, Condé would be captured at an engagement often described as the first (of many) of the French religious wars, the Battle of Dreux.

5 December was the date of the private oath of fealty which the duke of Lorraine gave to Emperor Ferdinand in the presence of the duke's mother, sister, uncle Nicholas, Count Vaudémont, and King Maximilian. Since the Worms Imperial Assembly of 1495, the Lorraine dukes had managed to successfully assert claims of (relative) independence *vis-à-vis* the emperors. By the time of Emperor Ferdinand's immediate predecessor, Charles, the duchy was virtually sovereign.[155] After the ceremony, a breakfast in the young duke's honor was hosted by the emperor. The meal was complete with a separate room set up for the dowager duchess's female courtiers. Elizabeth was very likely present. There she could have heard the courtly French spoken which would in a few years become so familiar to her ears.[156]

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[154] *"Man hat auch nach solchem pannget bis auf view uhr getanntzt,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 176.

[155] Franz Pesendorfer, *Lothringen und seine Herzöge* (Graz, 1994), p. 89.

[156] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 177 on the imperial fief confirmation ceremony and breakfast. The Lorraine dukes had of late tended very much toward France. Duke Antoine, for example, who had ruled from 1508–1544 and was Charles' immediate predecessor on the ducal throne, had campaigned with King Louis XII in Italy, participated at the coronation of King Francis I, married a French noblewoman, Renée de Bourbon, and supported Francis in his unsuccessful bid to be elected Holy Roman Emperor. Pesendorfer, *Lothringen*, p. 93. See also "Antoine Ier. Un prince ami de la France," pp. 105–107 in Henry Bogdan, *La Lorraine des ducs. Sept siècles d'histoire*

The Lorraine courts remained in Frankfurt long enough to attend the final meetings between the Ottoman ambassador, Emperor Ferdinand and King Maximilian. Then the emperor, accompanied to his departure point by the duke of Lorraine and the Burgundian Knights of the Golden Fleece, took his leave of the Free City. Emperor Ferdinand embarked on a ship with the duke of Arschot and his brother the marquis de Renty. Together they headed down the Main River toward the cathedral city of Mainz where Imperial Chancellor Daniel was preparing to meet them. The emperor was then off to a trip up the Rhine River to visit the key border region around Speyer, Strasburg, Colmar, and the Habsburg university city of Freiburg im Breisgau before heading back into Constance and up to Innsbruck where his daughters and youngest grandchildren were. It would be a tough almost two-month trip for the aging emperor undertaken in the middle of winter.[157]

On the road again

As her grandfather's boat pulled away from the Frankfurt docks, Archduchess Elizabeth and her family were preparing to head back to Austria. Reportedly between 1,500 and 2,000 wagons were involved in conveying the newly-crowned King of the Romans, his wife, and four oldest children back from Frankfurt.[158] An unknown number of ladies-in-waiting, together with sixteen serving women, were there to assist Elizabeth, Anna and María along the route which would take them to the residence of the Elector Palatine, Heidelberg, and into the key duchy of Württemberg. *En route* they would visit the closed old imperial abbey at Maulbronn which the Protestant ruler Duke Christoph was converting into a training college for Lutheran clerics. The train would stay briefly at the ducal court at Stuttgart. After they left this

(Paris, 2005). Duke Charles was brought up at the French court and married Catherine de Medici's daughter Claude in a ceremony in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris in 1559 (p. 122).

[157] The journey cost the life of at least one member of the imperial court: shortly after leaving Frankfurt, the leader of the emperor's chapel, Pieter Maessins, was killed in a carriage accident as he rushed to join the court and prepare a musical performance. He would be replaced as head of the imperial choir by Jean Guyot. Horst Leuchtmann, "Der Tod des kaiserlichen Kapellmeisters Pieter Maessins (Pietrus Massenus von Massenburg)" *Acta musicologica* 41 (1969), pp. 239–240.

[158] Koch, *Quellen*, vol. I, p. 6.

residence city with its fancy new ducal palace they would visit the Imperial Free City of Eßlingen on the Neckar River.

Their primary stopping point on their way back to Wiener Neustadt would be the great trading city, artistic center and episcopal seat of Augsburg, residence of the important and luxury-loving cardinal prince-bishop Otto Truchseß von Waldburg and the cathedral preacher Peter Canisius. The court would stay in Augsburg for over two months. Cardinal Otto had been named "Protector of the German Nation" by Ferdinand just a few years before and was influential in the papally-supported policy of reforming and reinforcing traditional Christian institutions in the Empire.[159] Emperor Ferdinand wanted to go south to be able to intervene and influence the course of events at the church council in Trent. King Maximilian was returning to the east where events in Hungary could be monitored more easily as the eight-year truce with the Ottomans and the attendant prisoner exchanges were implemented.

Records from the trip back from Frankfurt show that Claudio Trivulzio, Count Melzo served as the children's chamberlain along the way.[160] The 24-year-old Italian had been a prizewinner at one of the jousts held in Prague. Now he was responsible for the two girls' and two boys' well-being in the difficult circumstances along the winter roads of the Empire. Married to Queen María's one-time Spanish lady-in-waiting Margarita Lasso de Castilla, this Italian count worked with the queen's and king's multi-national staff of officials and courtiers from the Austrian lands, Bohemia, and Spain to make the children's trip as comfortable as possible. Their tutor, Dr. Johann Tonner, also accompanied them on the trip. Tonner had been the boys' teacher for over a year and a half and was preparing them for their upcoming journey to their uncle's court in Spain.[161] The composition of the

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[159] The cardinal does not seem to have been in Augsburg at his time. Instead he was residing in Rome. See Bernard Duhr, "Die Quellen zu einer Biographie des Kardinals Otto Truchseß von Waldburg," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1886), pp. 177–209 and the same author's "Reformbestrebungen des Kardinals Otto Truchseß von Waldburg," in the same edition of the journal, pp. 369–391. He added some notes about sources in Italian archives 13 years later: see *Historisches Jahrbuch* 20 (1899), pp. 71–74. See also Friedrich Zoepfl, "Die Durchführung des Tridentinums in Bistum Augsburg," pp. 135–169 in Georg Schreiber, ed., *Das Weltkonzil von Trient. Sein Werden und Wirken* (Freiburg, 1951), vol. 2.

[160] Koch, *Quellen*, vol. I, p. 8.

[161] Heinz Notflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie. Maximilian der Deutschmeister (1558–1618)* (Marburg, 1987), p. 36, note 32.

cavalcade also included six camels driven by "Moors," a touch which also occasioned comment on the part of observers.[162]

The courts' first major stop after leaving Frankfurt was Heidelberg, a city home to the recently-converted and increasingly-cantankerous elector Friedrich III ("the Pious," r. 1559–1576) and his wife Electress Maria of Brandenburg-Kulmbach. Educated in France and the Low Countries, Friedrich had taken over as ruler three years before and converted from Lutheranism to Calvinism two years after that. Clerics associated with his government were composing a new catechism and a new set of rules for governing Christian religious practice and organization in the elector's territories. These would be issued in the years immediately following the royal courts' visit in December, 1562. Fearful of a papal-Spanish conspiracy versus Protestants, Friedrich advocated and supported ties to France and particularly to the Calvinist minority there as counterweights to the Habsburgs in Spain. He cultivated ties to the imperial branch of the dynasty.[163]

Fewer than six months after the departure of Queen María and her family from Heidelberg, Friedrich was writing her husband Maximilian in support of a French match for one of the royals' daughters. The French Calvinist noble widow Madeleine de Mailly, Comtesse de Roye had contacted Friedrich and other Protestant princes in the Empire including Duke Christoph of Württemberg from her exile in Strasburg. (She was corresponding with Calvin at the time as well.) In May, 1563 she mentioned her support for a match between Charles Valois in France and the Habsburg archduchess Anna and requested the elector's help in obtaining a picture of the later which she could then forward to the French court. Friedrich complied and that spring played the role of intermediary, sending a portrait of Charles to Vienna. Playing along, King Maximilian sent a portrait of Anna to Heidelberg the following autumn, together with some hunting dogs for the elector.[164] Both Elector Friedrich of the Palatinate and Duke Christoph of Württemberg continued to show interest in such a match.

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[162] Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, p. 432.

[163] For more on the general context of the Palatinate's religious and political policies, see Elke Wolgast, "Konfessionsbestimmte Faktoren der Reichs- und Außenpolitik der Kurpfalz 1559–1620," pp. 167–188 in Heinz Schilling, ed., *Konfessioneller Fundamentalismus. Religion als politischer Faktor im europäischen Machtsystem um 1600* (Munich, 2007).

[164] Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, pp. 474–475.

Earlier in the century, Queen María's father-in-law Ferdinand had momentarily claimed the title Duke of Württemberg in the messy aftermath of fighting between various imperial, Swabian, Bavarian, and Swiss powers. He eventually granted the previous outlaw duke, Ulrich, his territory back again while maintaining control of the fief.[165] Before his troubles began in earnest, Ulrich had married Sabina, a member of the ducal Wittelsbach family in Bavaria. When Queen María and her family arrived in Württemberg in 1562, Sabina and Ulrich's son Christoph was the ruling duke and had come to terms with his feudal overlord, Emperor Ferdinand.[166] Twelve years King Maximilian's senior, the two were friends. Maximilian and María had stopped to visit six years before on their way to and from the Habsburg family summit in Brussels. Did Maximilian stop at the grave of his godson at whose baptism he had participated on that trip?

Christoph had been raised at first in the Habsburgs' courts in Innsbruck, Wiener Neustadt, and elsewhere on the road with the ever-moving emperor Charles but had drawn the line when plans were floated to send him to Spain for further training. He fled to the court of his uncle, Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria. Suspicious of his son's Bavarian leanings, after the restitution of his duchy Duke Ulrich decided to leaven them with experience in France, so the young Christoph had spent some time at the flamboyant court of that kingdom's ruler Francis I, participating and succeeding in tournaments and gaining military experience in the Italian wars.

Christoph converted to Protestantism and married a Lutheran princess, Anna Maria of Brandenburg-Ansbach. For most of the 1540's he had ruled the county of Mömpelgard, part of the Württemberg duchy's scattered holdings west of the Rhine River. This county was wedged between the Habsburgs' holdings (some—the Free County of Burgundy—ruled by King Philip of Spain and some in Alsace ruled by his uncle Emperor Ferdinand), the Basel prince-bishopric, and the duchy of Lorraine, so the French crown also showed some interest in developments there. Duke Christoph, like the dukes of Lorraine, had

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[165] For much of the following discussion, see Kugler, *Christoph, Herzog zu Württemberg*, vol. 1 and Ernst Marquardt, *Geschichte Württembergs*. Second Edition (Tübingen, 1961–1962), pp. 71–122.

[166] For a general introduction to Duke Christoph: Volker Preß, "Herzog Christoph von Württemberg (1550–1568) als Reichsfürst," pp. 367–382 in Wolfgang Schmierer, ed., *Aus südwestdeutscher Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1994).

learned how to walk the line between the Valois and Habsburg spheres of influence.[167]

After Duke Christoph's father died in 1550, Anna Maria and Christoph took over as duchess and duke of Württemberg. His exiled mother, Dowager Duchess Sabina, was allowed to return and establish a widow's seat at the town of Nürtingen in the Neckar Valley. The duchy became a center of learning with its important university in Tübingen (and sometimes Stuttgart) and clerical academy in Maulbronn, a center of culture with the rich court in the ducal capital of Stuttgart, and even a center of diplomacy as Duke Christoph sought to use his international connections to broker and maintain some type of peace in the Empire and with its neighbor, France. A moderate, Lutheran and Catholic party including Duke Christoph, Elizabeth's uncles Duke Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves and Duke Albrecht of Bavaria as well as the three prince archbishop electors sought to include Elector August of Saxony and perhaps even the elector of Brandenburg, drawing the line at some of what they considered more extreme, Calvinist-leaning rulers. (There were also concerns of gentry-level conspiracies and unrest which helped the various territorial rulers to discover common interests.) Increasingly, however, in Elizabeth's early years, Duke Christoph moved away from using leagues of princes and cities to maintain order and toward relying upon the imperial institutions and constitution. This meant placing trust in the Empire's executive branch.

This route appealed to Elizabeth's father King Maximilian. He showed interest in supporting such a strategy, as did the rulers of Saxony and Bavaria. Duke Christoph was active at the Imperial Assemblies held during Elizabeth's childhood and played a leadership role in the regional government of this part of the Empire, the Swabian Circle. He underwrote and participated in the functioning of the Imperial Cameral Court (*Reichskammergericht*) and instituted internal legal reforms in his duchy. These included secularizing ecclesiastical institutions and reorganizing official Christian religious practice.

Elizabeth and her family's host in Stuttgart, Duke Christoph, maintained ties to the French court as well as to the English one after Elizabeth Tudor took over the throne in that shifting island kingdom.

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[167] Franz Brendle, *Dynastie, Reich und Reformation. Die württembergischen Herzöge Ulrich und Christoph, die Habsburger und Frankfreich* (Stuttgart, 1998). See Chapter V: "Herzog Christoph als Landesherr von Mömpelgard."

When Archduchess Elizabeth and her family visited in December, 1562, they arrived at a court where possible ties between the Habsburgs and France were on the agenda and where French agents had been welcomed. This was a topic which had been on Elizabeth's parents' minds for some time and which bore directly on her future.

Duchess Anna Maria and Duke Christoph were raising seven daughters and two sons when the royal entourage arrived at their residence in December, 1562. The ducal couple's children ranged in age from the infant Anna and toddler Dorothea Maria to the seventeen-year-old heir to the ducal throne, Eberhard. The young duchesses Hedwig, Elisabeth, Sabina, Emilie and Eleonore were all close in age to the archduchess Elizabeth and her sister Anna. The fifteen-year-old duchess Hedwig was to marry a Hessian prince that spring, so talk of the wedding and marriages was probably in the air. Duchess Anna Maria's many daughters would all go on to marry significant Protestant princes in the Empire, extending the Württemberg rulers' influence as far as Silesia.[168] The young duke Ludwig, who was precisely Elizabeth's age, would succeed his father as duke in 1568 after the deaths of his older brother and father, although his mother Dowager Duchess Anna Maria participated in a regency council on his behalf until he became of age.

Elizabeth, Anna, and their brothers Rudolf and Ernst most likely met this ducal generation at the elaborate castles and gardens Anna Maria and Christoph were having constructed and laid out in their capital and other residences. The gardens at Stuttgart were famous for the variety of exotic plants to be found there such as pomegranates and figs. Stuttgart was a city whose population lived to a large extent from viticulture: in the last decades of the century beginning around 1560, huge amounts of land in the immediate environs were being newly planted with grapevines.[169] With her experience in the gardens at Wiener Neustadt and her parents' interests in botany and horticulture, Elizabeth no doubt had interest and ample opportunity to see at least some plants and many seeds and saplings during the short December days. Two years before, Elector August of Saxony had asked Duke Christoph for his help in setting up the gardens at

[168] The historian Franz Brendle described the duke as "the father-in-law of Protestant Germany." [Author's translation.] Brendle, *Dynastie, Reich und Reformation*, p. 379.

[169] Hans Schleuning, ed., *Stuttgart-Handbook* (Stuttgart, 1985), pp. 195–196.

the Saxon ruler's residence.[170] Christoph had been influenced by the example of the Bavarian ducal gardens in Munich of Elizabeth's aunt and uncle.[171]

The ducal residence complex in Stuttgart included a ball house, an armory, an exhibition hall for armor, another with martial *décor*, and even an indoor shooting range. (The duke loved shooting contests: reportedly one he had hosted two years before had over 1,500 participants.)[172] The old castle in the city was being transformed into an early modern princely residence.[173] The buildings in the immediate area had been torn down five years before to make room for an arcaded courtyard. A ramp allowed horses to ride all the way to the third floor. The large, plain castle chapel with its classically-inspired portal had just been completed. It recalled the French Protestants' austere temples and it was one of the first specifically Protestant churches built in the German-speaking lands. The chapel was consecrated that month.[174] Perhaps more interesting to Archduchess Elizabeth were the exotic animals such as swans, peacocks and bears which the duchess and duke kept in the castle moat. After five or six days, the long columns of horses and wagons pulled away from Stuttgart and headed off to the Imperial Free Cities of Eßlingen, Ulm, and Augsburg.

These occasions of royal or imperial *entrées* into the Free Cities of the Empire were particularly important for their governments, isolated as they often were in unfriendly hinterlands or serving simultaneously as independent city-states and seats of prince-bishops who controlled substantial rural territories. The civic authorities in Eßlingen, for example, were confronted with an expansionist ducal regime in Württemberg which had already secularized even ecclesiastical instances standing under imperial protection such as Maulbronn Abbey. The city fathers in the small independent city had reason to fear for their independence, and therefore reason to graciously host the emperor's son and designated heir, his daughter-in-law, and his grandchildren. It must have been a matter of no small pride that their

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[170] Kugler, *Christoph*, vol. 1, p. 400.

[171] Herbert Fecker, *Stuttgart, die Schlösser und ihre Gärten* (Stuttgart, 1992), p. 24.

[172] Kugler, *Christoph*, vol. 1, p. 401.

[173] For a plan showing the phases of the expansion of the castle, see Fecker, *Stuttgart*, p. 11. Schleuning, *Stuttgart-Handbuch*, pp. 195, 331–332.

[174] The consecration took place days before the court's visit. Fecker dates the ceremony 11 Dec., 1562. Fecker, *Stuttgart*, p. 14. Schleuning, *Stuttgart-Handbuch*, p. 361. The royal court arrived on 15 Dec. Holtzmann, *Kaiser Maximilian II.*, pp. 434–435.

city was one of the first of the Imperial Free Cities to publicly recognize the new King and Queen of the Romans. Following a short stay in the Habsburg town of Günzburg in Swabian Austria, where ties to the hereditary lands of the dynasty could be reinforced through such a visit of the new King and Queen of the Romans, the courts moved on to Augsburg.

If a royal visit was important to the city fathers of a smaller Free City such as Eßlingen, such a visit was as or more important to the royals when they went to a powerful and rich banking and trading center such as Augsburg, the courts' destination for some weeks in late December and early January of 1562–1563. Chronically cash-poor, the Habsburg rulers had historically relied upon bankers in Augsburg such as members of the famous Fugger and Welser families to help fund their undertakings or bridge momentary cash shortfalls. The city was one of the five designated tax depository sites in the Empire but the taxpayers were chronically in arrears with their payments. This provided the opportunity for Augsburg bankers to profit from loans secured with the expected incomes. The Imperial Accountant (*Reichspfennigmeister*) Georg von Ilsung had his offices in Augsburg. By this time, the Augsburg banks were also loaning money to the French crown, driving up the costs associated with imperial credit.[175] If the situation in France could be settled down, it could save Archduchess Elizabeth's father and grandfather money.

Augsburg was well located and large enough to host the sizable meetings that governing the Empire sometimes entailed. Its population is estimated to have been around 45,000, making it one of the Empire's largest cities.[176] Augsburg had the facilities to lodge the huge number of visitors an Imperial Assembly brought. Most recently, the city had hosted the only one held to date during Emperor Ferdinand's reign. That assembly had adjourned about three and a half years before. The well-known if sometimes challenged religious peace agreement of 1555

[175] Günther Grünstendel, *et al.*, eds., *Augsburger Stadtlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Augsburg, 1998), pp. 77, 149.

[176] Grünstendel, *Stadtlexikon*, p. 76. Norbert Lieb gives a lower population estimate of around 30,000: see "Augsburger Stadtgestalt, 1518–1630," vol. I, pp. 94–99 in Stadt Augsburg, *Welt im Umbruch. Augsburg zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (Augsburg, 1980). Here, p. 94. In the same important exhibition catalog, Peter Rummel and Wolfgang Zorn estimate that only about 10% of this population could be what the authors considered Roman Catholic: Rummel and Zorn, "Kirchengeschichte 1518–1650," vol. I, pp. 30–39. Here, p. 36.

had been signed in Augsburg at that year's Imperial Assembly, much to the disgust of the city's bishop, Otto Truchseß von Waldburg.

As in many Imperial Free Cities in the mid-sixteenth-century Empire, the religious landscape of Augsburg was a disputed one. Historian Lyndal Roper stated that the city's "religious history is an interestingly fractured one.[177] A few decades before, Protestant politicians succeeded for a while closing religious houses and confiscating property and rights associated with them. Due more to external events than internal ones, the city government had been reorganized and forced to accept the relocation and reopening of a number of these religious communities beginning in the late 1540's, but the future course of developments was uncertain when Queen María and Archduchess Elizabeth arrived in late December, 1562. Some churches were shared between Catholics and Protestants and disputes over the clocks and bells were endemic. The position of the Jewish members of the Augsburg population was similarly uncertain: ostensibly protected by imperial legislation dating back to the reign of Emperor Charles in 1544, Jewish merchants and traders were subject to various restrictions (such as only being permitted to enter the city through one of its many gates) and fees.

The religious uncertainty was particularly clear in connection with the female religious houses in Augsburg, a city marked by Christian women's histories. Augsburg's population had celebrated the memory of the female Roman-era Christian martyr Afra for centuries. Her tomb was located at the Imperial Abbey in the city. The abbey was dedicated to her and the tenth-century Augsburg bishop Ulrich. In 1562 that abbey's church stood incomplete and damaged by iconoclastic riots which had taken place 25 years before. An active abbot, Jakob Köplin, was now leading the community of monks after their return from forced exile and the reconsecration of the abbey church in 1548. Construction on the church had started up again in 1560, although its great choir would not be completed until decades later.

Afra's legend told of her martyrdom by fire tied to a stake set up on an island in the middle of the Lech River here in the city. She was revered as one of the city's patrons. The city's important aristocratic house of canonesses dedicated to Saint Stephen dated from the tenth

[177] Lyndal Roper, *The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg* (Oxford, 1989), p. 4.

century. Augsburg's cathedral was dedicated to the Visitation, that key episode in Saint Mary's life detailed in the Gospel of Saint Luke when she visited her cousin Elisabeth and Elisabeth felt her baby move in her womb.[178] The north portal of Visitation Cathedral had a sculpture of the important tenth-century empress Saint Adelhaide, wife of Emperor Otto I and regent of the Empire for the young Otto III. Adelhaide, often considered the patron saint of empresses, was depicted holding a model of the cathedral in recognition of the role she is said to have played in rebuilding the church in Augsburg. Legend has it that in her widowhood the dowager empress Adelhaide performed many such charitable works and retired to an Alsatian convent where she died, never having taken Holy Orders.

Centuries before the 1562 visit, many communities of women had been established throughout Augsburg. Often, these female-led organizations had become tied to international congregations of women such as the Franciscan or Dominican nuns. By the time the sixteenth century began, there were multiple houses of these orders in the city. Some were dedicated to martyr-saints such as Catherine or Ursula. Over time, the nuns were placed under the spiritual care and supervision of their male counterparts, the Franciscan and Dominican friars who begged in Augsburg's streets. When the Reformation resulted in so many members of these male orders leaving their congregations and accepting various Protestant teachings relating to celibacy and the roles of the clergy, the women who remained in the Augsburg houses faced the situation of having no confessors or guardians. Franciscan nuns at the community dedicated to the Holy Star, for example, had attended services at the local Franciscan friary, but when their male colleagues abandoned it, the nuns were forced to rely upon sympathetic secular clerics until the city fathers shut the women's house completely.[179]

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[178] Luke, Chapter 1, verses 39–47. Elisabeth cried out, "Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb." (Verse 42). This line would have been familiar to Archduchess Elizabeth from her religious instruction, as would have been Mary's response, (Verses 46–55) the "Magnificat," which so fascinated contemporary composers as a text for musical accompaniment: "My soul doth magnify the Lord…" etc.

[179] For the general background on the female houses in the city and the effects of the Reformation, see Roper, *Holy Household*, Chap. 6: "The Reformation of the Convents," pp. 206–251.

The Jesuit fathers who had settled in the city a few years before benefited from their popular preacher and one-time Viennese religious leader Peter Canisius and his presence in Augsburg on and off from 1559–1566. For the first few years of his time as the cathedral preacher, he was assigned to the altar located at the fifth northern pillar in the cathedral's nave. This altar was dedicated to Saints Bartholomew, Jerome, Pancratius, the Fourteen Holy Helpers, Apollonia, and Clare.[180] Father Peter used this base as one from which to steer at least some of the city's population away from Protestantism and toward his brand of Catholicism with its pronounced orientation toward saints veneration and particularly the cult of the Virgin to which the cathedral itself was dedicated.

Canisius developed close ties to the Fugger family and was one of the clerics assigned to minister to the congregation living in their housing complex in the city, the famous *Fuggerei*. He also helped convert a number of important noblewomen in the city including Ursula von Lichtenstein, the wife of Georg Fugger, and her sister-in-law Sibylla von Eberstein, an imperial countess married to Marx Fugger. (A third Fugger wife, Hans' consort Elisabeth Nothafft von Weißenstein, also made news as a high-profile convert.)[181] Archduchess Elizabeth and members of her mother's court may well have met the widow Ursula or the countess Sibylla when they were in Augsburg in 1562. Elizabeth's grandfathers had signed her parents' marriage contract in Countess Sibylla's father-in-law's house in Augsburg in 1548.[182] Now, in the early 1560's the countess and her husband were beginning the construction of a family chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary in their newly-rebuilt city palace. Evidence of external support for such non-Protestant activity could serve to reinforce the commitment of the Rome-friendly minority in the city, a minority which included the Jesuit preacher Father Peter and Cardinal Prince-Bishop Otto.

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[180] Freya Strecker, *Augsburger Altäre zwischen Reformation und 1635* (Münster, 1998), p. 331, p. 335, note 26.

[181] *Ibid.*, pp. 249–257. Strecker dedicates a long "*Exkurs*" to the question of Countess Sibylla's conversion and its depiction in Jesuit literature. See pp. 332–350. For more on the countess, see Martha Schad, *Die Frauen des Hauses Fugger von der Lilie (15.–17. Jahrhundert). Augsburg-Ortenburg-Trient* (Tübingen, 1989), pp. 59–69. Schad points out that Sibylla had been a Catholic as a child and had converted to Protestantism, making Father Peter's claims of success look a little less dramatic. (He had reported her conversion to Rome in January, 1561.)

[182] Schad, *Die Frauen*, pp. 20–21.

Soon, efforts to reopen and reinforce regular clerical institutions in the city and the prince-bishopric would pay off. The women of Holy Star Convent, for example, would revitalize the house under their dynamic leader Anna Krölin. The convent's own church dedicated to Saints Anna and Elizabeth would be completed by 1576. During the Christmas season 1562–1563, however, Archduchess Elizabeth would have experienced a city in flux, not entirely Protestant, but not clearly Catholic either.[183] The Star of Bethlehem led wise men bearing gifts, it was told, to a woman who had recently given birth. The story could have recalled for young Elizabeth the multiple post-birth visits she had seen her mother Queen María receive over the course of Elizabeth's childhood, visits which marked an anxious period during the traditional six-week-long lying-in period.[184] In Winter, 1562–1563, the marginal situation of the Franciscan nuns was evidence of this unsettled, transitional phase of the history of the Imperial Free City. The young archduchess would have further opportunity to experience this situation when she returned to Augsburg four years later.

During the court's trip in 1562 and while Elizabeth and her family were in Augsburg, diplomatic correspondence picked up concerning the subject of the marriage of Queen María and King Maximilian's two daughters. The archduchesses Anna and Elizabeth had been ostentatiously displayed across the Empire for four months. The media reported on their participation in the trip. The various ceremonies, assemblies, *entrées*, audiences, tournaments, and so on, in which they and her family had participated, provided opportunities for the girls to be seen, and for diplomats to think and meet about the girls' futures.

At the same time that these events were occurring north of the Alps, on the mountains' southern sides just within the border of the Holy Roman Empire another large diplomatic assembly was taking place: the final sessions of the great Church council at Trent. After much discussion and delay, Dowager Queen Catherine of France had decided to permit a French delegation to attend the council. They arrived in Trent while the imperial court was in Frankfurt for King Maximilian's election and coronation. This meant that another point of diplomatic contact was established between her court and the imperial one via diplomats from each side posted to the ecclesiastical congress. The leader of the

[183] Krölin entered the order in Augsburg in the year of Archduchess Elizabeth's first visit, 1562.

[184] Lyndal Roper discussed this tense period in *Witch Craze*, p. 127.

French delegation was the cardinal of Lorraine, the imposing representative of the Lorraine ducal family, the Guises. Representatives of this family had established themselves as influential power brokers at the French court earlier in the century partly through their support of the marriage of a Guise daughter, Marie, to King James V of Scotland and then the further marriage of Marie's daughter Marie to the heir to the French throne, Francis.

The Guises' specific influence tied to their niece Marie had waned after the early death of her husband and Queen Marie's subsequent return to her kingdom of Scotland during Summer, 1561, but in the unsettled political and religious circumstances of Dowager Queen Catherine's regency the Guises were able to establish themselves as a viable and more religiously orthodox political alternative to the Protestant factions in the kingdom.[185] The cardinal of Lorraine in Trent therefore would represent a faction that both recognized the power and significance of dynastic marriages and was amenable to ties to the Habsburgs. Already on 1 December, 1562 while the celebration of King Maximilian's coronation was in full swing, one of the French representatives in Trent had written to Ambassador Bochetel, "*Monsieur*, I ask you to tell me how old King Maximilian's eldest child is and if she is pretty."[186]

Dowager Queen Catherine had expressed her interest in the marriages being contracted and discussed in the Empire the previous summer. She had written her ambassador Bochetel in August, 1561 about his reports concerning the effects at the imperial court of the news of the marriage in Leipzig of William of Orange and Anne, the daughter and heiress of the late duke of Saxony.[187] Reportedly, Dorothea,

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[185] At this point, the kingdom of France had to support two Queens Dowager: Catherine de Medici and Marie Stuart. Given the difficult domestic circumstances of the Crown, this double burden was particularly significant. The expenses associated with keeping a separate court for Dowager Queen Marie were reduced by her return to Scotland where she too faced an unsettled political and religious scene. Circumstances there and in neighboring England would eventually lead to her exile and ultimately to her execution.

[186] "*…je vous supplie me mander quell aige a la fille ainee dy Roy Maximilien et si elle est gentile.*" Lansac to Bochetel, Trent, 1 Dec., 1562. Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 371.

[187] Catherine de Medici to Bochetel, St. Germaine en Laye, 29 August, 1561. De Medici, *Lettres*, vol. 1, pp. 231–232. Anne of Saxony and Prince William's marriage would be an unhappy one and she was eventually sent away from his court. She died in 1577 after bearing five children with the prince.

Dowager Queen of Denmark and mother of the current electress of Saxony, Anna, had been in Leipzig. There was some discussion of the possibility of the marriage of her son King Frederick to one of Elizabeth's aunts.[188] These alliances between important Protestant powers in and next to the Empire could have significant consequences for the French crown: it must be recalled that troops were being raised there by French Protestants. The more power the Protestants accumulated, particularly through influence with the imperial house, the less likely it would be for these military preparations to be stopped. Troops led by one of the counts palatine would intervene in France in Fall, 1562.

German mercenaries were not only being raised in the Empire to support the undertakings of the Protestants in France. Recruiters under orders from the French court were extending their traditional recruitment zone from the Swiss cantons in the south into other regions of the Empire. On 15 December, 1562, while Archduchess Elizabeth and her family were making their way southward toward Württemberg and Augsburg, Dowager Queen Catherine wrote to Ambassador Bochetel that one of her German cavalry officers, a certain Captain Riffenberg, had reported to her a diplomatic feeler which the prince archbishop elector of Trier, Johann von der Leyen, ostensibly had made.[189] Riffenberg, Catherine wrote, said that the elector had let drop that King Maximilian had told him that Maximilian would be interested in a marriage between one of his daughters and King Charles. The captain wanted to know if there were any response he should make.

Catherine's letter went on to state that she thought that Charles was still too young to marry, but that if the King of the Romans wished such an alliance she would take his suggestion under advisement. She asked Bochetel to convey to the king "in what esteem I hold his alliance…in my judgment one of the most important in Christendom today."[190] She had until now not heard of this matter and did not know if Archbishop Johann had raised it first with King Maximilian

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[188] Dowager Queen Dorothea, from the house of Saxony-Lauerburg, died in 1571. She had been married to King Christian III (died 1559). Her son would rule until his death in 1588.

[189] Catherine de Medici to Bochetel, Vincennes, 15 Dec., 1562. De Medici, *Lettres*, vol. 1, pp. 447–451.

[190] *"en quelle estime j'ay son alliance…à mon jugement l'une des grandes qui soit aujourd'huy en le crestienté,"* De Medici, *Lettres*, vol. 1, p. 450.

"…and further, as one says that it is up to husbands to look for wives, it seems to me that I do not have to do anything."[191] Dowager Queen Catherine did, however, want Bochetel to inquire more about the issue with the archbishop. He was to be told that she esteems him more than any other prince in Germany. When discussing the possible marriage, Bochetel was to find out if the archbishop had discussed it with Maximilian and if so how the king had responded because, "in addition to the fact that I hold this alliance in great esteem, it seems to me that the negotiation of such a marriage would only serve well to favor our affairs among the princes of Germany" in addition to serving to increase "the amity and good will" of Maximilian.[192]

The French ambassador had originally left Frankfurt in the train of Emperor Ferdinand, but Bochetel's assignment was switched to take him away from the imperial court on the road in Alsace. He was now directed to the royal court in Augsburg. There, he was to convey the official French congratulations on Maximilian's election. He had written the queen mother from Augsburg only a couple of days before that he had met with the King of the Romans and Maximilian brought up the issue of a possible marriage.[193] Maximilian told him, Bochetel reported, that Archbishop Johann of Trier was in favor (as Catherine already knew), but that Elector August of Saxony preferred a match with the king of Denmark (as Catherine had already suspected).

Did the two archduchesses with the court in Augsburg get wind of any of these discussions so important for their futures? It seems likely that the subject of the meeting of the French ambassador with their father may have reached their ears in the royal apartments in the Imperial Free City. Even though she was only eight and a half years old, Elizabeth knew what was expected of her: she was to marry in the interest of her house, the *Casa d'Austria*, as her aunts had done. In Augsburg, though, she also saw around her, as she often did at home and in her travels, historical examples of martyrs, young, strong women who had stood up to others, to the extent of losing their lives.

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[191] *"…encores que l'on die que c'est aux maris à rechercher les femmes, il me semble que je ne le doys faire aucunement." Ibid.*

[192] *"oultre que j'estime grandement ladicte alliance, il me semble que le pourparler d'ung tel mariaige ne sçauroit que beaucoup server à favoriser noz affaires à l'endroict des princes de la Germanie" "l'amitié et bonne volunté." Ibid.*

[193] Bochtel to Catherine de Medici, Augsburg, 12 Jan., 1563. Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 375.

Unthinking obedience was not the only mode of behavior to which she had been introduced.

Dowager Queen Catherine wrote her ambassador in Augsburg twice that week concerning the possible marriage. In her letter of 12 January, she told Bochetel of the cardinal of Lorraine's assignment to Trent and the imperial court. The queen told her ambassador that she did not know any one who would be better to negotiate with the emperor about the marriage proposal.[194] On 18 January, she wrote again agreeing with Bochetel that the mercenary captain Riffenberg was not the best go-between for such an important matter. She had received Bochetel's report of his congratulatory audience with King Maximilian where he had been charged with explaining to the king why the princes of the Empire should not support the Protestants in France. They, Bochetel was instructed to explain, were rebels against royal authority: this was a political, not a religious matter.[195] Dowager Queen Catherine wanted her ambassador to meet again with Elizabeth's father to try and determine if the marriage proposal came from "his knowledge and will or from a move by the archbishop."[196] Bochetel wrote the queen that he thought that King Maximilian did indeed have interest in the marriage, "…but I have always feared, if one speaks too much in advance, so long before it can come into effect, that the king of Spain would be jealous" and successfully present his son's claim to the eldest daughter.[197]

By this time, the Venetian ambassador to the imperial court, Giovanni Micheli, was reporting home that discussions were taking place there with Spanish representatives about both the planned trip of Elizabeth's older brothers to Spain and the marriage of one of María and Maximilian's daughters to the king of Portugal.[198] The diplomatic

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[194] Catherine de Medici to Bochetel, Chartres, 12 Jan., 1563. De Medici, *Lettres*, Vol. 1, p. 473.

[195] Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung*, vol. 8, p. 711, note**. Bucholtz based his discussion on the text of Bochetel's instructions dated 16 Dec., 1562.

[196] *"son sceu et volunté ou du movement de l'archevesque"* Catherine de Medici to Bochetel, Chartres, 18 Jan., 1563. De Medici, *Lettres*, Vol. 1, p. 481.

[197] *"…j'ay tousjours crainct, si on en parloit trop avant mesmement si longtemps avant que de pouvoir venire aux effectz que le Roy d'Espaigne n'en eust jalousie…"* Bochetel to Catherine de Medici, Augsburg, 22 Jan., 1563. Meyenhofer, "Frankreich und Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 376.

[198] Micheli to Doge, Innsbruck (?), 30 Jan., 1563. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 217. Micheli would often be delegated to the imperial courts over his long career. He was also sent to France a number of times while Elizabeth was there: pp. xi–xii.

correspondence of the next months was full of rumors, proposals and counter-proposals for marriages including Elizabeth's uncle Karl and the widowed Marie Stuart (this was pressed by Marie's uncle the cardinal of Lorraine), Elizabeth's aunts with the dukes of Ferrara and Florence or the prince of Transylvania, Elizabeth's cousin Carlos of Spain with Marie Stuart, Elizabeth's brother Rudolf with Marguerite de Valois, (the French king's sister,) and of course Elizabeth's sister Anna with Carlos of Spain and/or Elizabeth herself with Spain, Portugal, or France.[199] It is unclear how many of these were serious, possible, or desired. They did represent an exciting array of possibilities for the two young archduchesses Elizabeth and Anna as they returned from Augsburg to Vienna and Wiener Neustadt that Winter and Spring.

Catherine de Medici became a bit suspicious of her representative the cardinal of Lorraine's motives as reports came back from Trent and Innsbruck. She wrote her ambassador in Spain, Jean Ébrard, in August that the cardinal of Lorraine was "doing everything to arrange the marriage of the prince of Spain and the queen of Scotland, his niece."[200] Was the cardinal taking the opportunity to push the Guise family's interests ahead of those of the Valois? He had written Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Ferdinand in late April about the possible marriage of King Charles of France with Queen María and King Maximilian's eldest, Anna, but accepting their younger daughter, Elizabeth, if the eldest were promised to the prince of Spain.[201] Ferdinand's response was to counsel patience because of the unclear situation of Archduchess Anna: would she marry her Spanish cousin Carlos or not?

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[199] Examples include: Giovanni Micheli to Doge, Innsbruck, 22 Feb., 1563. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 221 and note 1 (mid-June, 1563). Catherine de Medici to Bochetel, Blois, 12 Feb., 1563 and from camp near Orléans, 26 March, 1563. De Medici, *Lettres*, Vol. 1, pp. 504 and 543; Meyenhofer, "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 330, note 7 (May, 1563. Negotiations with Ferrara and Florence, ref. to Transylvania continuing apparently into December: p. 380).

[200] *"taste tous moyens pour faire le marriage du prince d'Espagne et de la reine d'Ecosse, sa niece,"* Catherine de Medici to Ébrard, n.p. (in code). Edmond Cabié, ed., *Ambassade en Espagne de Jean Ébrard seigneur de Saint-Suplice, de 1562 à 1565* (Paris, 1903), p. 147. Dowager Queen Catherine wanted Ébrard to use the occasion of the arrival of the two archdukes in Spain to bring up the question of marriages with King Philip. She wanted her son Charles to marry Archduchess Anna, the elder daughter.

[201] Cardinal of Lorraine to Emperor Ferdinand, Trent, 23 April, 1563. Daniel Cuisiat, ed., *Lettres du Cardinal Charles de Lorraine (1525–1574)* (Geneva, 1998), pp. 487–488.

Emperor Ferdinand thought that an Archduchess Elizabeth-King Charles match would be fine, as would a Marguerite-Rudolf one—as long as Marguerite agreed not to convert to Protestantism. These marriages would be useful, Emperor Ferdinand wrote, "to perpetuate the long-standing good will which exists between our two houses."[202] In June the cardinal wrote Ambassador Bochetel informing him, partly in code, that Emperor Ferdinand had agreed that King Charles of France would marry King Maximilian's eldest daughter if she did not marry the prince of Spain, and that King Maximilian's eldest son would marry Charles' sister.[203] Things seemed to be progressing well that summer: the French special envoy Philibert du Croc was sent to the imperial court to continue the discussions. According to the Venetian ambassador Micheli, du Croc was having portraits of María and Maximilian's children and Elizabeth's uncle Karl painted to take back to France.[204] The exchange and collection of portraits was an important part of early modern aristocratic life. The pictures placed the sitters in their familial, dynastic contexts, legitimating them and potentially their marriage allies.[205] The sticking point concerning the marriage negotiations would be the king of Spain. Philip effectively had veto power over the entire undertaking, both as head of the family and as father of one of the principals, the erratic heir to the Spanish throne, Carlos. The cardinal and the ambassador could not have expected that the negotiations would drag on for another six years.

The trip from Linz to Prague, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Stuttgart, and Augsburg in the latter half of 1562 and into early 1563 continued via the Free City of Donauwörth and then down the Danube to Ingolstadt, a fortified university city in the hands of the Bavarian dukes. There, Maximilian met again with his brother-in-law Duke Albrecht. In mid-March the courts headed back to Vienna. These long months on the road had introduced Elizabeth to the Empire more broadly seen than her earlier experience in the Habsburgs' Danubian archduchy. It also introduced her to a number of key figures in the negotiations

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[202] *"de perpetuer l'ancienne amytiè, qu'est entre nos deux maisons…"* Ferdinand to cardinal of Lorraine, Innsbruck, 22 April, 1563. Quoted in Bucholtz, *Geschichte Ferdinands I.*, vol. 8, p. 712.

[203] Cardinal of Lorraine to Bochetel, Rennes, 13 June, 1563. Cuisiat, *Lettres*, p. 491.

[204] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 257, note 3: Micheli report dated 11 August, 1563.

[205] Markus Reisenleitner and Karl Vocelka "Die Kultur des Adels der Habsburgermonarchie in der frühen Neuzeit," pp. 37–40 in Pokrajinksi Muzej Ptuj, *Srečanje z jutrovim na ptujskem gradu* (Ptuj, 1992). Here, p. 39.

surrounding her future marriage. One of the leading imperial politicians, the prince archbishop elector of Trier, Johann von der Leyen was obviously interested in bringing France and the Empire closer together, perhaps hoping for their support versus the reaching administrators and governors the Habsburgs had stationed in the neighboring Low Countries as well as a halt to the raising, transit and quartering of mercenary troops from the German lands for action in France.

Others such as Friedrich of the Palatinate or Christoph of Württemberg similarly seem to have been interested in encouraging Franco-imperial *rapprochement*. They as well as many others in the southwest reaches of the Empire remembered and could imagine the dislocations associated with enmity between the region's two great powers. As with the prince-bishopric and archdiocese of Trier, the duchy of Württemberg also had to deal with the Habsburg emperor's nephew King Philip of Spain and his holdings in the region. Perhaps an alliance between France and the central European Habsburgs with their moderate heir Maximilian could balance the impact of the more rigid Iberian ruler. Duke Christoph and Elector Friedrich clearly saw this as in the interest of the Protestants in the Empire and elsewhere.

Finally, the financial interests in Augsburg with their wide-reaching business connections and markets meant that increased ties between France and the Empire could reduce the pressure on the interest rates charged both sides, freeing funds for the pressing expenses associated with the tumultuous Hungarian border (and Habsburg interests in Transylvania and Poland-Lithuania). The threat of the Ottoman army seemed to have subsided at least momentarily with the truce successfully negotiated by Ogier Busbecq, but that truce required the humiliating payment of a substantial tribute to Constantinople and could break down at any moment. The skirmishes that were part of daily life on the long Habsburg frontier with the Ottomans could easily escalate into open warfare. The border fortifications needed to be staffed and ready. That was expensive.

A family tragedy had struck while Elizabeth was on the road with her parents and older sister and brothers: her infant brother Friedrich who had been born the previous June died in Innsbruck where he and his older brothers Matthias, Maximilian, Albrecht, and Wenzel had been staying. Elizabeth had been too young to remember the death of her little sister Maria back in 1556, but now she again experienced the somber mourning rituals of the Habsburg court. It must have been a pleasant reunion when the other four archdukes arrived in Vienna

after traveling from their aunts' residence in Tyrol in March, 1563. Four months later Elizabeth celebrated her ninth birthday. The eight children were not to remain together in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt long: preparations were afoot and advanced for Rudolf and Ernst's voyage to Spain. For a while there was discussion of Elizabeth's participation in the trip, too, in expectation of her marriage to the King of Portugal, but those plans did not materialize, due partly to her father's opposition.

The return to Austria

On 16 March, 1563 Maximilian made his grand *entrée* into Vienna as the King of the Romans. In addition to an honor guard of city militiamen who marched out to meet Elizabeth's newly-crowned mother and father, a group of hundreds of boys carrying miniature painted wooden weapons met the arriving royalty, who progressed into the city through a series of specially-erected, temporary ceremonial gates.[206] Eleven years before Elizabeth's parents had first ceremonially entered the city prior to establishing their residence there. Then, they had been accompanied by Duke Moritz of Saxony as well as an elephant driven by "Moors," African handlers who together with their charge made quite an impression on the Viennese.

In 1563, no pachyderms marched in the parade. The newly-crowned King of the Romans Maximilian and his wife Queen María arrived

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[206] Vocelka, "Wiener Feste," p. 145. Vocelka quotes a financial record recording payment to an artist for the production of the children's weapons as well as the painting of a "Spanish flag" ("*hispanischen fan*"). The primary source used in the following description is the illustrated account published by the Viennese printer Caspar Stainhofer in 1566 titled *Grundtliche und Khurtze beschreibung des alten und jungen Zugs/ welche bede zu Einbeleittung der Röm. Kay. Mt. etc. Kaiser Maximiliani des Anndern/ etc. Unsers allergnedigsten Herrn/ etc. wie Ire Röm. Kays. Mt. etc sampt derselben geliebsten Gemahll und Kindern von der Crönung von Franckfurt zu Wienn den 16. Martij im 63. jar ankhomen/*… It was partially reprinted in Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," pp. 25–31. Wünsch reproduced five of the work's illustrations and added excerpts from city financial records and an introduction which placed this *entrée* into the context of earlier such city festivities dating back to the 1411 entrance of the fourteen-year-old duke Albrecht V. Louthan reproduces some of the illustrations in his discussion of the ceremonies, which he relates particularly to the themes presented in the decorations by Wolfgang Lazius: *Quest for Compromise*, pp. 35–42. See also Kaufmann, *Variations*, p. 27 and Altfahrt, "politische Propaganda," pp. 294–296.

by boat at the city docks around two o'clock in the afternoon with their two eldest sons, Rudolf and Ernst, and their two daughters, Anna and Elizabeth. After a reception at the waterfront by the provincial authorities the king and his two sons mounted horses while Elizabeth, her mother, sister, and the ladies of the court climbed aboard wagons decorated with green branches for the ride into the city through the first ceremonial gate. Reportedly, hundreds of mounted nobles and thousands of city militiamen were assembled there. Over a dozen pieces of light artillery were decorated and arrayed at the drawbridge and thundered their salute. The mayor, city judge, and members of the city council met the party at Red Tower Gate where six of their number came to hold a golden canopy covered with black eagles over the king for the duration of his ride. Then the city cannons on the walls and the bells in the church towers all began to sound out their welcome. This was a cacophony seldom heard, but probably increasingly familiar to the young archduchess. She had heard it five years ago when her grandfather had entered his capital, and recently in Prague and Frankfurt.

Once inside the city's walls, the procession's route was lined with decorative trees "just like in a forest," the printed account of the *entrée* declared.[207] These were hung with gilded oranges, pears, apples and artificial fruits, all depicting a bountiful, if prematurely ripe, world. (It was barely Spring.) The exotic fruits weighting down the trees' branches probably caught the attention of the almost-nine-year-old princess rolling past in her decorated wagon. Outside the city office of weights and measure, where the official scales which regulated transactions in the city and which served as one of the most useful and apparent aspects of rule there were located, the authorities had built another ceremonial gate, this one crowned with the Habsburg family symbol, the peacock, with its plumage in full array between statues of women representing Hope and Charity. (Charity was depicted as a woman with a baby in her arms and two more clinging to her legs.)[208] 36 angels held or pointed to eighteen coats of arms representing the Habsburgs' hereditary lands. Two giants holding shiny lances and shields depicting the coats of arms of Austria and Vienna guarded the

[207] *"gleich wie in eim Waldt."*

[208] This illustration is reprinted from the Munich copy of the description. See Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," Tafel II.

entrance into the archway, along whose sides depictions of six Austrian dukes were located. Did Elizabeth take a quick history lesson, or try to guess who these armored ancestors were as she rolled by?

A tumult caught the attention of the parading royalty at the Lugeck, a city landmark a few paces beyond the ceremonial gate. There, a tall fountain had been set up and twelve pipes spewed red and white wine into a basin for the duration of the event. A verse on the fountain explained that the Austrian colors of red and white, which were represented in the red and white wine, "show the water and blood which flowed from the side of Christ, with which he saved us."[209] Habsburg rule in the city was paralleled with Christ's role in salvation; on earth, government representatives on the top of the fountain cast down nuts, apples, pears, and bread to the locals, satisfying their earthly needs in a way similar to how their Saviour satisfied their otherworldly ones. The locals scrambled and scuffled for the bounty.

It was time to momentarily leave the burghers' city and enter into the priests'. At the entrance to the cemetery which surrounded the cathedral, the party dismounted. Elizabeth and her sister and brothers walked ahead of the royal couple, who now processed into the churchyard under a new canopy, this one carried by officials from the university. High on the steeple, a boy stood waving a gold, white and black flag in the wind, and then a marvelous invention was let loose: along a rope extending from the top of the steeple down to the top of its incomplete partner a mechanical eagle flew, flapping its wings. This delighted the king who stood to watch its course.[210] Salutes were fired from the steeple and across the city.

Inside Saint Stephen's Cathedral, the assembled clergy in their ecclesiastical finery met the royal party in the choir. The church had been spruced up for the event, with the statues cleaned and tapestries and carpets hung and spread about. Bishop Urban greeted the new king in the name of the assembled clergy. The six members of Elizabeth's family approached the high altar and reverently kneeled there while a *Te Deum* was sung. The bishop blessed them and then they made

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[209] *"Die zaigen/ das Wasser und Pluet/ Floß auß der seitten Christi Guet. Mit dem er unns erlöset hat/"* Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," p. 28.

[210] See Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," Tafel III. María and Maximilian can be made out under the baldachin in the right foreground. It can be imagined that one of the diminutive (probably the most diminutive) figures toward the front of the procession, just about to enter the cathedral, is Archduchess Elizabeth.

their way again out of the church, through the cemetery, and out into the street, where they remounted their horses and wagons and were rejoined by the city officials with their canopy for the king.

The next ceremonial gate to be negotiated was constructed at Horse Market. It was dedicated to Maximilian as newly-crowned King of Bohemia and King of Hungary.[211] The female statues on its top were personifications of Fortitude and Prudence. Fortitude held a huge ornate capital in her arms, displaying strength. Between the women squatted a grinning lion, tongue extended and double tail raised. This maned feline held in its paws the coats of arms of Bohemia and Hungary. Goddesses were portrayed around the entrance to the arch, each holding coats of arms of the Bohemian lands. The huge fake columns were painted to resemble marble. The passageway again showed kings, princes, and emperors which had preceded Maximilian. Latin verses decorated the archways and verses were declaimed as well as the procession made its way out onto Graben, the wide street along the old city walls' path.

There, another high wine fountain was situated and there, again, the Viennese competed with each other for the food and drink being distributed. More nuts, apples, pears, and bread were thrown from this station, which was decorated with fruit, branches and gilding. "One almost tore oneself apart" for the gifts being distributed, it was reported.[212] The third and final arch through which Elizabeth and her family passed on this parade was located around the bend on Vegetable Market.[213] On top were female figures depicting Justice with her sword and Faith with her cross. Between them the double-headed imperial eagle was mechanically arranged so as to nod to the king as he arrived. "Below the orb of the earth was beautifully painted," with Emperor Ferdinand to one side handing it to King Maximilian on the other, the published account explained.[214] The gods Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Apollo, and Juno, representing the planets, were also depicted, with the female Juno on the lower right, seated with a peacock. The passageway again depicted imperial predecessors on one side. The other showed King Maximilian, Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl, and her six

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[211] See Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," Tafel IV.

[212] *"Umb welche man sich vast risse,"* Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," p. 29.

[213] This is depicted in Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," Tafel V.

[214] *"herunden ware lustig gemalt/ der umkraiß der Erden"* Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," p. 29.

brothers.[215] Another fountain spouting wine was found after this third gateway and before the castle.

1,500 boys not older than sixteen stood armed and ready in the castle square, some dressed in the black and gold of the Empire, some in Austria's red and white. Maximilian, pleased by the display, ordered that the commemorative pennies which had been minted on the occasion of his coronation in Frankfurt be distributed to the boys. Unfortunately for them, the procession through the city had taken so long that their choreographed assault on a wooden castle which had been erected in the middle of the castle yard had to be postponed until the next day. As darkness fell the archduchess and her family reached their apartments in the castle, but not before an impressive fireworks display was held in their honor. This included an oversized cup such as one displayed on the sideboards at banquets, only this one was suspended on a rope over the yard and, when ignited, spewed fireworks which spun and split as they hit the ground. A huge "heathen" standing at the back of the yard on a tall column holding a club and a shield started spitting fire, spewing it from his whole body.[216] As the princess went to bed, in the distance the spire of Saint Stephens Cathedral was illuminated and a few final welcoming shots were fired off.

The next morning, two burghers' sons approached the royal couple and, after reciting a Latin poem, they requested permission to storm the enemy castle in the courtyard. They then returned to the assembled boys and started the assault, complete with artillery. After repeated attacks, Stainhofer reported, "the enemy flag was taken down and in its place the flag of the attackers was placed and great happiness and celebrating was held as the castle was flattened and torn down, the symbols of victory taken, and the victors departed."[217]

The *entrée* was followed by one of the obligatory shooting contests so loved by the militiamen, who wanted to show off their marksmanship,

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[215] Interestingly enough, it does not appear that Matthias was among those identified in the illustration. Only five names appear in it.

[216] *"Haydn,"* Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," p. 30.

[217] *"der Feundt Faan under gedruckt/ und entgegen des Stürmendten Volcks Faan in die Statt gestalt/ als nun das Schloß zerschlaipfft und eingerissen/ war ein groß Frolocken/ und Triumphieren/ named die Sygzaichen mit sich/ und zogen ab"* Wünsch, "Einzug Kaiser Maximilians II.," p. 31. For a depiction of the assault, see Tafel VI. As if to emphasize the festive nature of the occasion, the artist of this woodcut, Donas Hübschman, chose to depict a jester active in the front right foreground.

and a banquet at which Maximilian received the customary gifts such as silver cups, oxen, grain and wine. Elizabeth's parents were now anointed royalty, crowned and acclaimed. Her status as an eligible daughter of the designated heirs to the imperial thrones made her that much more desirable (although not as desirable as her older sister).

The experiences in Vienna that March underline the complex mix of cultural, political, and social influences on the young archduchess. The clear appeal to history with which she was familiar from Neustadt Castle continued: as she rode in her decorated wagon through portal after portal, the past was depicted in specific ways. Men from her family's past stared out at her as she went by. The women shown were not real women, nor had they ever been. They were goddesses such as Juno, or personifications of abstractions such as Charity with her children, Fortitude with her heavy load, and Faith with her cross. There were no empresses, no queens, no archduchesses.

There were boys, lots of boys with play guns, boys who symbolized, like the greenery of her wagon's decorations and the fantastic fruits on the trees along her route, the springtime of a new reign. Elizabeth was going on nine years old. She, like the year and like her parents' reigns, was immature, but she was learning from the processions and festivities in which she participated.

Elizabeth's sickly old grandfather the emperor had not taken part in the public succession ceremonies. He was concentrating on bringing the discussions at the Trent council to a satisfactory conclusion, something which seemed all the more pressing to the papacy as events in France, a traditional papal ally, pointed to uncertainty in the religious future of that kingdom. Emperor Ferdinand and King Maximilian disagreed about the possibility of convincing the pope and the other ecclesiastical representatives in Trent to pursue deep-reaching reforms.

The emperor had polled Elizabeth's uncle Duke Albrecht of Bavaria as well as the prince archbishop electors of Mainz and Trier while they were in Frankfurt concerning their opinions about pushing for permission to the laity to take Communion with wine as well as the wafer, but the results were inconclusive. After half a year of negotiations and meetings in Innsbruck, the emperor returned to his capital of Vienna. There, he met with representatives of a number of the leading Catholic powers in the Empire to discuss the council and religious developments more generally. Representatives of the three prince archbishop electors as well as the archbishop of Salzburg and the duke of Bavaria attended. The new administrator of the Vienna

diocese, Bishop Urban of Gurk, presided at the Vienna meetings held in late July. Also at the meetings were the imperial court preacher and Dominican friar Matthias Esche von Cittard and Queen María's confessor, the Franciscan friar Francisco de Córdova. The assembled agreed to ask the pope to permit the chalice to the laity in the Empire and to give the emperor their support for his attempts to negotiate further on the issue of clerical celibacy.[218]

Elizabeth would have had multiple opportunities to see and on some level interact with her mother's confessor, Brother Francisco. An Observant Franciscan who had entered the order in Salamanca, this friar could have been one of the early influences on the young girl which help to explain her life-long predilection for supporting and working with the female and male Franciscans. Their specific forms of popular and visual spirituality influenced Archduchess Elizabeth. Her mother María provided help to the Observants' community in Vienna as its members looked for lodgings and support. Brother Francisco was flexible on matters such as the chalice for the laity but was inflexible on the requirement that bishops reside in their dioceses, an inflexibility which made him unpopular in many circles nearer to Trent and Rome.[219]

Hungarian concerns

Later in the summer of 1562, Emperor Ferdinand turned his attention to the succession issue in Hungary. This issue had concerned him for much of his life, ever since he had come to his sister Dowager Queen Mary of Hungary's aid after the death of her husband in 1526. Now, almost forty years and much fighting later, the big events in Archduchess Elizabeth's life in 1563 were the coronations of her parents as queen and king of that contested realm. As with the coronation of Maximilian as King of the Romans, one of the issues of debate concerning the Hungarian coronation was the propriety of crowning a king while his father was still alive. This practice had been

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[218] The negotiations are outlined in Laubach, *Ferdinand I.*, pp. 502–507.

[219] Klaus Ganzer, "Ein unbequemer Reformer am Rande des Konzils von Trient: Der Franziskaner Franziskus von Córdoba als Berater Kaiser Ferdinands I.," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 104 (1984), pp. 309–347. Córdoba would go on to become the confessor of Elizabeth's sister Anna and return to Spain with her when she married Philip II.

discontinued in Hungary in the thirteenth century, but undertaken again as recently as the coronation of prince Louis in 1508 when he was only two years old.[220] He would ascend the throne as King Louis II at the age of ten. His wife the Habsburg princess Mary, Elizabeth's great aunt, had moved to Hungary to join him in 1522, inaugurating her short and ultimately sad reign as queen.

King Ferdinand's coronation at Székesfehérvár in 1527 had been a peculiar precedent, coming as it had only a year after the similar coronation of his rival King John Szapolyai. In 1563, the coronation could no longer be held in the traditional coronation city due to the Ottomans so, as in Frankfurt the year before, Elizabeth's father's coronation would take place in a new setting. The Hungarian vice chancellor's offices were in Vienna, hardly an appropriate location for the ceremonial inauguration of the rule of a new Hungarian king. This time it would be Bratislava, the seat of the financial administration of the divided kingdom and the site of the meetings of its estates.

Elizabeth's father had tried to counter opposition in Hungary by participating in military planning and political affairs there. By the summer of 1563 it was high time, he and his supporters thought, to formalize the royal couple's roles, heading off any new attempt to elect some rival. Preparations were well under way by June, with correspondence being sent to participants outlining the colors and costumes they were to wear.[221] Orders were sent out securing provisions from the two rich hereditary lands upstream along the Danube River, Austria Below the Enns (*Das Land unter der Enns*) and Austria Beyond the Enns (*Das Land ob der Enns*). Similar orders were issued for Moravia and Bohemia. A special, duty-free period for trade in foodstuffs was declared, marking a six-week period when even those locals who could not see the processions and events in the Hungarian capital knew that something big was up.[222]

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[220] János M. Bák, *Königtum und Stände in Ungarn im 14.–16. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 68. See also appendix II: "Mittelalterliche Königskrönung in Ungarn (Quellenübersicht)," pp. 165–190.

[221] The preparations are discussed in Mandlmayer, "Beschreibung,": see "Die ungarische Krönung," pp. 56–59 in Habersack, *Krönungen*. Here, p. 57, note 64: where Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand writes Maximilian from Prague on 28 June requesting patterns. See also 24 June, 1563 letter from King Maximilian ordering Wolf and Bernhart von Schallenberg to accompany him to the Hungarian coronation and sending patterns for clothes to wear: AVA OsStA HHStA SB HA II/97 56r.

[222] Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 178–205: "Beschreibung khünig Maximilians ungerischen crönung, so geschehen zu Pressburg den achten September am tag Marie

There was some reason to want to press ahead with the ceremonies: it was clear as the summer progressed that Elizabeth's 35-year-old mother was pregnant again. The royal couple wanted both to be crowned, even though it seems that María's coronation was not generally expected. The Hungarian nobleman Ferenc Batthyány recommended when asked that special invitations be sent out to the Hungarian nobles making it clear that the presence of their wives and daughters was also expected, partly to ensure a representative Hungarian court for the queen's ceremony and celebration.[223]

The ceremonial departure from Vienna began on Saturday, 28 August.[224] Bohemian troops and a regiment of 2,000 Vienna militiamen with twelve cannons marched out of the city to begin the journey overland to the imperial border. Two days later, the courts followed: Emperor Ferdinand and King Maximilian led arrays of male nobles on horseback. Queen María traveled with her daughters Anna and Elizabeth and the ladies of the court in four decorated wagons followed by the royal guards. Their day's trip took them to Hainburg, a walled city with imposing gates and a princely castle on the hill above. The castle chapel had been the site of the marriage of Margaretha Babenberg, the sister of the last reigning Babenberg duke, with Ottokar Přemysl, the future king of Bohemia and claimant to the Babenbergs' inheritance back in the thirteenth century. This event, however, was

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Geburt, anno etc. 1563;" here, p. 178. On developments in Austria Beyond the Enns, see Joseph F. Patrouch, *A Negotiated Settlement: The Counter-Reformation in the Habsburg Province of Upper Austria* (Leiden, 2000).

[223] Mandlmayr, "Beschreibung," p. 56.

[224] The following discussion is based on "Beschreibung khünig Maximilians ungerischen crönung;" *Kurze und Warhaffte Beschreybung deß Hungerischen Einzugs/ der Röm. König. May. Maximilian deß andern/ sampt allen Fürsten und Herrn so da erschinen/ ergangen zu Preßburg. Beneben der Krönung Ihrer König. May. Zum Hungerischen König/ im Monat Septembri Anno 1563* (bound with *Crönungs Handlung*), StUB F/M; report of Venetian ambassador Micheli to doge, reports dated Bratislava, 2 Sept. and 12 October, 1563 in Turba, *Depetschen*, vol. 3, pp. 233–241; Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 19. See also Friedrich Firnhaber, "Die Krönung Kaiser Maximilians II. zum König von Ungarn 1563 aus einer Handschrift der Wiener Hofbibliothek" *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen* 22 (1857), pp. 305–338. On the various contemporary accounts of the events, see Mandlmayr, "Beschreibung," p. 58. These include one published the same year in Augsburg by Matheus Franck and another by Heinrich Wirrich. On the Franck pamphlet: S. Katalin Németh, ed., *Ungarische Drucke und Hungarica 1480–1720. Katalog der Herzog August Bibiothek Wolfenbüttel* (Munich, 1993), part 1, vol. 2, p. 346 (nr. 1028). On the Wirrich account: vol. 3, p. 775 (nr. 2303). See also Kaufmann, *Variations*, p. 28 and Altfahrt, "politische Propaganda," p. 307.

not one that the Habsburgs, as the descendents of the victors over Ottokar, wanted to memorialize: the castle and the rights associated with it had been farmed out for some time.

In 1563 the courts' marshals had requisitioned sufficient lodging for the courtiers and staff here and in the surrounding villages. The archdukes Ferdinand and Karl had been assigned specific separate locations for their camps, as had the archbishop of Salzburg and the assembled nobles from Bohemia and its affiliated lands of Moravia, Silesia and the Lusatias. Representatives of the other Habsburg hereditary lands in central Europe were assembling along the parade route as well.

The trip and coronations took place during a time of year particularly dedicated to the Virgin Mary by some Christians, the period between the Festival of the Assumption and the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin. This was a time when Fall preparations were taking place, medicinal flowers and herbs were being collected, and the swallows were flocking southward. It is likely that people at Queen María's court noted this period and reflected particularly on the role of the famous mother as the queen's pregnancy progressed. This was at least the twelfth pregnancy for Queen María. The ladies and servants at her court knew the drill. Elizabeth probably remembered three or four of the more recent pregnancies and births. This could have given her thoughts concerning the Virgin's birth a particular connection to her owned lived experiences.

August and September, 1563 was also a time when Elizabeth's grandfather's court preacher Matthias Cittard was in the midst of a comprehensive cycle of sermons dealing with the First Epistle of Saint John.[225] Some of the 27 sermons he preached in this cycle were given in Bratislava during the coronation festivities and Archduchess Elizabeth very likely was exposed to them at some level. The choice of this epistle, with its kindly address to children, reads as if the preaching friar had the royal children in mind when he selected it as the subject of discussion. Was Father Matthias thinking of the emperor's grandchildren as he explicated Scriptural passages such as "My little children, these things I write to you, that you may not sin" (1 John 2:1), "I write unto you, little children, because your sins are forgiven you for his name's sake" (1 John 2:12), or "And now, little children, abide in him,

[225] Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 27.

that when he shall appear, we may have confidence…" (1 John 2:28)? The nine-year-old archduchess was confronted with a text that seemed to speak directly to her in her position as a child. Her older brothers Rudolf and Ernst were to leave very soon for Spain: was Father Matthias preaching to them?

The words of John have their ominous sides, too. These are words which could have helped prepare young Elizabeth for the violent, death-filled world she would experience. The biblical text goes on, "Little children, it is the last hour; and as you have heard that Antichrist cometh, even now there are become many Antichrists: whereby we know that it is the last hour" (1 John 2:18). The text continues, "…he [the Antichrist] is already in the world" (1 John 4:3). But hope is offered: "You are of God, little children, and have overcome him" (1 John 4:4). Concrete steps to take are outlined: "My little children, let us not love in word, nor in tongue, but in deed, and in truth" (1 John 3:18).

Tuesday, 31 August Queen María, Archduchess Elizabeth, and the rest of the columns prepared to leave the Holy Roman Empire and enter the Kingdom of Hungary. She and her sister, brothers, and parents departed Hainburg to assemble in one of the three major groups preparing for the procession across the border. The emperor's entourage, without the emperor, (he was going to arrive in Bratislava by boat, leaving the field to his son Maximilian, the king-designate) with Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl and their entourages were in one group. This group also included the Primate of Germany: the prince archbishop of Salzburg, Johann Jacob von Kuen-Belassy (a Tyrolean nobleman) with his retinue.[226] Elizabeth and her family's courts together with the representatives of the western hereditary lands of the two Austrias, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were in a second group, and the Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians, and Lusatians were in the third.

About a half a mile before the designated meeting point, the Hungarian cavalry appeared in all its elaborate finery, perhaps 3,500 strong. Although Elizabeth had seen smaller units of Hungarian horsemen on other ceremonial occasions such as the Bohemian coronations,

[226] On the Khuen family in Tyrol: Chisholm, "Tirolean Aristocracy," p. 20.

it can be imagined that the scale here on the Hungarian-Imperial border would have been particularly impressive. The chronicler Habersack singled out one group, the one led by the one-time *Banus* of Croatia: "And particularly the count Zrinski had the most followers and they had the best and most expensive costumes."[227] The royal columns halted and formed up in a clearing near the castle at Kittsee fewer than ten kilometers from Bratislava. The Hungarian representatives were waiting on foot as the royal party, including Elizabeth's brothers Rudolf and Ernst, rode up to them.

Elizabeth's godfather, the archbishop of Esztergom Miklós Oláh, greeted the royals and their children in the name of the Hungarian estates with a Latin oration in which he apologized that many of the kingdom's lords could unfortunately not attend the ceremonies due to military obligations on the border, a none-too-subtle reminder of the precarious nature of the military situation, and in some ways of the political situation facing María and Maximilian. The bishop of Wrocław, Kaspar von Logau, the ex-bishop of Wiener Neustadt, responded in the name of King Maximilian. Then, the procession continued across the country roads and over the Danube into Bratislava with its imposing castle on the hill above, a castle over which Queen María held title as part of her marriage contract.[228]

Lines of uniformed imperial and royal archers marched behind the women's wagons as they crossed the decorated pontoon bridges. The bridges' ceremonial entrances through which the columns passed bore three coats of arms: Emperor Ferdinand's in the middle, Queen María's to the left, and King Maximilian's to the right. It was already five o'clock in the evening by the time the royal party entered the capital, one of the largest and most important cities in the kingdom.[229] Because Maximilian was entering Bratislava as King of the Romans

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[227] *"Und had sonnderlich darundter der graf von Serin am moisten gesindt und dasselb zum pesten und costlichisten gestaffiert gehabt."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 188–189. On the Zrinski family, see Evans, *Making*, p. 243.

[228] Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach," *American Historical Review* 81 (1976), pp. 243–265. Here, p. 264. María had also received claim over the royal castle in Buda but these were impossible to realize given the Ottomans' continued presence in the kingdom.

[229] Ernö Déak, "Preßburgs politische Zentralfunktionen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," pp. 163–172 in Evamaria Engel, Karen Lambrecht, and Hanna Nogossek, eds., *Metropolen im Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1995).

and King of Bohemia, not as King of Hungary, the Imperial Hereditary Marshall Pappenheim, not a Hungarian marshal, carried the ceremonial sword of office before him as they came into the city. Accounts estimate between 7,000 and 8,500 horsemen arrived in the Hungarian capital for the ceremonies.

Cannons thundered thrice-repeated salutes from the walls of the castle and the city, drums beat, and the various militias fired their weapons in welcome as the columns split up. The Vienna militia took up defensive positions outside the city walls, partly as security against any Ottoman-sponsored attempts to disrupt things. The older archdukes Ferdinand and Karl rode up to their lodgings in the castle, the archbishop of Salzburg went to his apartments, and Queen María and her family were accompanied to their host the archbishop of Esztergom's new city palace where they would stay for the duration of the festivities.[230]

The main event of the following day was the arrival of the emperor. After a long boat ride down the Danube from Vienna, Ferdinand reached the docks at Bratislava where his three sons King Maximilian, Archduke Ferdinand, and Archduke Karl, as well as the prince-archbishop of Salzburg, among others, were waiting for him. As Emperor Ferdinand disembarked from his festooned galley, cannon salutes again were heard across the city, as was the discharge of numerous firearms, all making a noisy welcome.

The archbishop of Esztergom held another Latin welcoming speech in the name of the Hungarian estates as he had the day before for Elizabeth's father. He was answered by the imperial vice chancellor, Dr. Georg Sigmund Seld, who assured the Hungarian representatives that their emperor-king had long wished to come to discuss matters with them but had been hindered from doing so. Now he earnestly wished to undertake these discussions and "through God's grace and their assistance to implement them in a fatherly way."[231] He also would "with grace let them all continue with their privileges

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[230] The archbishop, long tied to the Hungarian royal court, was attempting to reform his archdiocese. He had also called the Jesuits to Trnava the year before. István Fazekas, "Miklós Oláhs Reformbestrebungen in der Erzdiözese Gran zwischen 1553 und 1568," pp. 163–178 in Fuchs, et al., *Ferdinand I.*

[231] *"vermittlst göttlicher gnaden und mit irem zuethuen vätterlich inns werckh richten,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 194.

and traditions."[232] Ferdinand then mounted a horse and reviewed the assembled troops which were lined along the Danube's banks. These included the Hungarian hussars as well as the militiamen from Vienna and Bratislava. As he made his way into the city, the Hungarian royal marshal and counselor Ferenc Tahy of Tahvari and Tarköi preceded him with the sword of office of the reigning Hungarian king.

The next day, Tuesday, 2 September, court attended Mass before beginning the business of the estates' deliberations and designation of an heir for King Ferdinand. Masses such as these, like the *entrées* into cities, were opportunities for musical performances where the courts' choirs sang praises of their rulers. For example, one such hymn of praise for Emperor-King Ferdinand composed by Johannes de Cleve beautifully proclaimed in Latin, "O Austria, flourishing by the Danube's rapid course, Hark to the praise which our Muse sings to you. Mother of heroes art thou, ancestress of princes and their stock which multiplies again into a long line of sons."[233] It is not known what effect, if any, such acclaim had on the assembled Hungarian nobles. While the noblewomen would have missed the upcoming debates in the estates' meeting, they would have had the chance to hear the choirs sing in the religious ceremonies and during the processions.

Kings Ferdinand and Maximilian sat enthroned in the great hall of the Bratislava castle later that day when King Ferdinand handed the Hungarian representatives his written proposals for their consideration. Dr. Seld again addressed the nobles thanking them for attending in such large numbers and asking them to deliberate quickly. The Hungarian royal counselor and representative Mihály Mérei repeated the vice chancellor's words in Hungarian for the benefit of those noblemen whose Latin was not good, and then King Ferdinand added a few words of his own in Latin, urging the estates to make their deliberations brief, to "cut out any useless, unnecessary debates and to support matters is such a way so that one could return home as soon as possible and avoid great costs and other known difficulties."[234]

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[232] *"sy auch samentlich bey iren freyhaiten und altem heerkhommen mit gnaden bleiben lassen." Ibid.*

[233] Translated in Pietro Giovanelli, *Novus thesaurus musicus*, Albert Dunning, ed. (N.p.:, 1974), p. ix. Dunning calls this work, "the most comprehensive testimony to Austrian musical culture in the second half of the sixteenth century" (p. vii). Its five volumes contain 254 motets, almost all by composers from the Low Countries who stood in the Habsburgs' service.

[234] As reported in German translation: *"alle vergebenliche, unnottwenndige disputations abzuschneiden und die sachen dermassen zu fürdern, damit man zum ehisten*

The wished-for brief deliberations were not to be. Elizabeth and her family sat for five days while the Hungarian estates fiercely debated. As one published account remarked, the deliberations "were rather contentious and bitter."[235] They dragged on meeting after meeting and day after day. While the deliberations were being held, Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl and Archbishop Johann Jacob of Salzburg used the opportunity to travel to the fortresses of Győr and Komárno farther down the Danube Valley to review the progress on their construction, underlining to the men assembled at the estates' meeting how ties to the Habsburgs also meant money from the Empire for fortifications.[236] The archbishop may have also been interested in obtaining ideas and advice for his own refortification projects back in his prince-archbishopric in the Alps.

The slow rate of progress in the estates' debates reflected the divided state of the Hungarian polity: the kingdom had been wrecked by invasion and the aftermath of invasion. The debates were over life and death issues. Who was best to lead the kingdom out of this difficult time? Within the kingdom a not insignificant faction supported striking a deal with the Ottomans, while the option of supporting a local candidate such as King John's son was also available. What did the Habsburgs have to offer?

Elizabeth in her room at the archbishop's palace in downtown Bratislava represented one thing the Habsburgs had: international ties and the possibility of more to come. She and her sister could be used to reinforce alliances, either within the family or with local and neighboring lords and kingdoms. More significantly, her mother's court with its ladies in Spanish headdresses represented ties to the powerful Iberian, Italian, and Low Countries holdings of the family. With the reports of the riches of the Habsburg Americas coming in, it could be imagined that Elizabeth's Spanish uncle Philip, the brother of the

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wider anhaimbs veruckhen und des grossen uncostens, auch annderer bewüssten unglegenhaiten, abkhommen möge." Habsersack, *Krönungen*, p. 195.

[235] *"zimlich uneins unnd zänckisch gewesen," Cronung*, n.p. Quoted also from an archival document in the HHStA Vienna in Mandlmayr, "Beschreibung," p. 58. Bratislava's prestige and importance grew with the meetings of the estates which were held there, bringing trade, too. One of the traditional meeting sites was the great hall of the Franciscan friary down in the city. The castle, which had been wrecked by Hussites back in 1432, had been rebuilt to some extent under the reign of King Matthias I ("Corvinus") later that century, but its accommodations were still not up to royal standards. This explains why Elizabeth and her family stayed in a city palace. Déak, "Preßburgs," pp. 168–169.

[236] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 202.

proposed new queen María, could function as a foil to the Ottomans. Spanish troops and commanders had helped in the decades-long fight since the Spanish prince Ferdinand arrived on the scene. A Spanish queen on the Hungarian throne was an attractive option. A few of the men present, including Archbishop Miklós who had accompanied her to the Low Countries, may have still held fond memories of the last Habsburg queen of Hungary, the young Mary who had been widowed at the age of 21 back in 1526. Were they supporting her memory (she had died five years before) when they supported the claims of her niece María and nephew Maximilian?

Finally, around four in the afternoon on the sixth day of debates, Tuesday, 7 September, word reached the imperial and royal courts that the Hungarian estates had agreed to recognize Maximilian as King Ferdinand's designated successor, and to undertake the coronation of the royal couple as soon as possible. Celebrations were held across the city as the news got out. Last-minute preparations needed to be completed quickly: the king's coronation was set for the next day, the Festival of the Nativity of the Virgin. Elizabeth's father's accession to the throne of the lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen would take place on an important Marian feast. The Virgin would provide her sponsorship of this coronation, placing Maximilian in the protection of her robes as he was enrobed.

The morning of the coronation King Ferdinand, his two younger sons, and the archbishop of Salzburg made their way into the Bratislava city church dedicated to Saint Martin located below the castle. Queen María, Elizabeth, her sister, brothers, and the ladies of the court followed not long after. They were seated in the church on a special decorated stage from which they could watch the ceremonies. Then the waiting began: it took almost an hour for the heir-designate to arrive in his royal splendor. Maximilian, King of the Romans and of Bohemia, would soon add a third crown to his collection.

When Maximilian appeared trumpets began to play fanfares. He was accompanied by his court, members of the Hungarian estates, and the bishop of Wrocław. Elizabeth's father wore what Habersack's account described as the robes "which the previous kings in Hungary have used in these types of ceremonies for hundreds of years."[237] These included a long crimson tight-fitting tunic and a gold cape.

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[237] *"so die allten khünig in Hungern nun von etlich hunndert jarn heer in dergleichen solenniteten gebraucht haben"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 197.

He and his cortege walked down the length of the nave until they were met in its middle by Bishop Antun Vrančić of Eger and Bishop Paul Bornemisza of Nitra. These two accompanied Maximilian to the high altar followed by Bishop Ferenc Forgách de Ghymes of Oradea carrying the *pacem*, Gábor Perényi de Nyalab the sword, Ferenc Batthyány the crown, Nikola Zrinski the orb, and András Báthory de Ecsed the scepter. Behind these high nobles marched seven more Hungarian notables each with a banner representing the lands associated with the Crown of Saint Stephen: Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Transylvania. Of course by this point some of these lands were no longer under the effective rule of King Ferdinand, but their symbols presented Archduchess Elizabeth and the others present at this ceremony with an imagined realm, one possible if not probable, and one over which her parents were to rule.

The procession reached the choir where Archbishop Miklós of Ezstergom was sitting waiting accompanied by a number of other bishops. Maximilian paid reverence to his father the reigning king on numerous occasions during the ceremony. Maximilian was introduced to the archbishop by Bishop Antun.[238] Then the king-candidate sat and listened while the archbishop instructed him to fulfill his royal duties well. These included honoring God, supporting justice, protecting widows and orphans, and honoring the prelates and other estates of the kingdom as they deserved. Hand on the Gospels, Elizabeth's father swore before her godfather to do so to the best of his ability. The assembled bishops stood and said a common prayer over the king-candidate, who then, kneeling, was consecrated with holy oil by the archbishop. Oil was placed on Maximilian's right hand and on his back while the choir intoned the litany. He then walked to the throne which had been decorated with gold cloth and placed in the middle of the choir. Under a baldachin, Maximilian watched as Mass began.

After the *Gradual*, Maximilian stood up and approached the archbishop and the altar. Archbishop Miklós took the sword from the

[238] Bishop Antun Vrančić was a diplomat and Humanist who wrote Italian and Latin poetry. Originally not very sympathetic to the Habsburgs' cause in Hungary, he slowly came around in the 1550's. He was a member of what Birnbaum described as the Kingdom of Saint Stephen's "hybrid ruling class" of Hungarians, Croatians, Serbians, Romanians, Czech and Germans in the period before Mohács. Birnbaum, *Humanists*, p. 220. Archbishop Oláh had helped to integrate Vrančić into Habsburg-friendly circles. Vrančić travelled to Constantinople to represent Habsburg interests there in the mid-1550's and was rewarded for his services with various Hungarian sees.

altar and gave it to the king-candidate. After accepting it, Maximilian returned it to the archbishop, who returned it to its sheath and girded it about Maximilian. Maximilian then took the sword from its sheath and swung it high in the air above him before sheathing it again. The assembled notables in Saint Martin's Church that morning must have thought about how important the power symbolized by that sword would be. Maximilian was to use it to protect them, and now they were tied to him and needed that protection. It was also to be used to exercise domestic justice in the realm, a duty that Maximilian, as his father before him, would leave to a large extent in the Hungarian notables' hands. Did the famous sword in the legend of Saint Martin, the Hungarian soldier saint from Szombáthely and the Bratislava church's patron, come to the minds of the archduchess or others in the assembly? In Saint Martin's legend he used the sword to share.

The Crown of Saint Stephen, a crown so steeped in significance that many thought it impossible to rule Hungary without it, was next brought over from the altar where it had been placed by Ferenc Batthyány, a close associate of the ill-fated King Louis II.[239] Batthyány had received large seigneurial holdings in Hungary near the imperial border from that king and his support was very important to the crown. Maximilian, María, and Ferdinand particularly needed the allegiance of men like Batthyány whose lands were close to the Habsburgs' hereditary holdings. If they did not support the neighboring Habsburgs, who would? The bishops jointly placed the crown on Maximilian's head, and Batthyány stood and cried out to the assembled in Hungarian, asking them three times if they "wanted to have, recognize, and keep his royal Majesty as their king."[240] Three times the assembled throng yelled back in the affirmative.

The archbishop gave Maximilian the scepter and the orb, praying over them each time. Now with all the accoutrements of power, King Maximilian stood from his throne. Wearing the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen and the kingdom's sword, dressed in the centuries-old

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[239] Josef Karpat, "Die Idee der heiligen Krone Ungarns in neuer Beleuchtung," pp. 349–398 in Mandred Hellmann, ed., *Corona Regni: Studien über die Krone als Symbol des Staats im späteren Mittelalter* (Weimar, 1961); Patrick J. Kelleher, *The Holy Crown of Hungary* (Rome, 1951); Bock, *Kleinodien*, vol. 2, pp. 76–83.

[240] *"ir kün. Mt. für iren khünig haben,erkhennen und halten wollen."* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 199.

royal robes of Hungary, and holding the orb and scepter of the land, King-designate Maximilian presented himself to the crowd. The heir was crowned and acclaimed. For the third time in a little over a year, Elizabeth's father had been anointed and crowned. She was a thrice-royal princess. The trumpets sounded; the choir sang out *Te Deum*; the organ thundered.

After the Mass was ended, King Ferdinand and his court left the church for a banquet in the provost's house nearby. King Maximilian was enthusiastically congratulated by his brothers and the archbishop of Salzburg. Elizabeth, her mother, brothers, and sister waited in their seats until the church cleared. Maximilian left for a royal procession along a red carpet through the city's streets. Coins were thrown to the attending crowds. Now Maximilian could be depicted as the thrice-crowned heir he was: a coin minted this year showed Elizabeth's father seated on a throne with the imperial crown above, flanked by a female personification of Justice on the left holding a second crown, and another such personification, Peace, holding a third. The reverse showed the Habsburgs' peacock with its tail feathers spread, each of the twenty-two showing the coat of arms of a different Habsburg territory. The fowl displayed the Burgundian arms on its breast and the imperial eagle with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece before it.[241] Hungary had stayed in this impressive confederation of lands. Knights, including Ogier Busbecq, the one-time diplomat and now councilor, were dubbed in a ceremony at the Franciscan friary, and various other ceremonial actions were taken to complete the public activities.[242] A banquet back at the archiepiscopal palace was followed by a celebratory dance.

The next day, Thursday, 9 September, it was Elizabeth's mother's turn. Habersack's description is rather brief, explaining that María's coronation was organized "as the Hungarian queen's coronations were normally done over the ages."[243] There were, however, apparently various traditions associated with Hungarian queens' coronations. Back in the fourteenth century, King Louis I "the Great's" daughter and heir

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[241] Habich, *Schaumünzen*, vol. 2, p. 377 (Nr. 2629a). This rather large medallion measures 54.5 mm. in diameter.

[242] F.H. Blackburne Daniell and Charles Thornton Forster, eds., *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* (London, 1881), vol. 1, p. 60.

[243] *"wie es in der hungerischen khünigin crönungen von allters heer gebreuchig,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 202.

Maria had been crowned as "king" and ruled jointly with her husband Sigismund.[244] In the late 1430's there had been disputes between the archbishop of Esztergom and the bishop of Veszprém over who held the right to crown the Luxemburg heiress Elisabeth queen. The kingdom's lords backed Veszprém in this case, but the precedent did not hold into the mid-sixteenth century ceremony for María.[245]

In 1563 Hungarian noblewomen participated in the ceremonies in Bratislava. María wore her own crown: the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen was placed touching her shoulder for a while during the ceremony.[246] She was now twice-blessed: as crowned Queen of Bohemia and Queen of Hungary, she joined a small group of women in the Europe of the time who occupied the intermediary space of semi-sacred intercessory. Her body, which had so successfully produced the political situation which enabled the ceremonies to take place, now was taken at least in part from that profane sphere and tied to the sublime.

As in Bohemia, in Hungary the years of vacancy on the queen's throne were over. (Strictly speaking, Queen María was not yet ruling; she was the consort of the heir-designate.) Following Queen María's thirteen-year reign (1563/4–1576), another *interregnum*, this one of almost forty years' duration, would follow. Queen María's reign was the only queen's reign in Hungary from 1547–1613, adding another factor to the chronic instability in the troubled kingdom and its confederated lands.[247]

One late-arriving guest appeared that Thursday after the queen's coronation was complete: Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, the

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[244] Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, NJ, 1957), p. 80, note 93. This fact led Kantorowicz to comment that perhaps "*in corpore politico nullus est sexus*." Queen Maria's younger sister, Jadwiga, went on to rule Poland.

[245] Bak, *Königtum*, p. 169. Queen Elisabeth of Hungary, Bohemia, and the Empire (1409–1442) was the pregnant widow of King Albrecht II whose servant Helene Kottanerin famously smuggled the Holy Crown to the castle at Komárno in time for the birth of King Ladislaus in 1440 who was then crowned with it at the tender age of twelve weeks. Kottanerin described the events in her memoirs. For much of his youth, Ladislaus "postumus" was a ward of Emperor Friedrich III in Wiener Neustadt. He died at the age of 17 before a planned marriage with a French royal daughter could take place. Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 85–86, 39–42, 241–243.

[246] Mandlmayr, "Beschreibung," p. 58.

[247] For more on the queens of Hungary and Bohemia, see Joseph F. Patrouch, "The Coronations of Queen María: Reaching Beyond Religious Divisions in Prague, Frankfurt am Main, and Bratislava, 1562–1563," *Kosmas. Czechoslovak and Central European Journal* 21 (2008), pp. 9–21.

husband of Elizabeth's illegitimate aunt Duchess Margarete.[248] His presence brought again to the fore the international ties the Habsburgs represented and the influence of Italian dukes on their affairs. Duke Ottavio's wife had left to govern the Low Countries back in 1559 and was trying to negotiate the increasingly tense situation in that corner of the Empire. She would remain there until the end of 1567 when she returned to the Italian peninsula. Duchess Margarete and Duke Ottavio's son Alessandro had been sent to his uncle Philip's court in Spain as a guarantee that the duke would stop his dalliances with the French, in whose armies he had served earlier in the century. Duke Ottavio could have told Elizabeth's father Maximilian something about using ties to the French as a ploy.

Now the Bratislava coronation celebrations began in earnest, though tempered by the presence of plague in the city, plague which claimed the life of one of the court counselors, Wolf von Saurau.[249] They were also tempered by a horrible fire which claimed many lives following the tournament which was held outside of the city near the Hungarian encampment on Sunday, 12 September. Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Karl had participated in the tournament. In order to get a better view, spectators climbed onto the fake wooden castle which had been built for the festivities. The fireworks which were positioned in it went off too early. Some of the spectators burned to death and many others were injured.[250]

The tragedy notwithstanding, the entertainments continued the next day. Elizabeth's father Maximilian, her uncles Ferdinand and Karl, the duke of Parma, the Croatian count Nikola Zrinski, and many others, participated in the running at the rings, at which, as on the previous day with its mysterious "Lord of the Shadows" a number of the participants appeared in disguise.[251] They were so disguised, in fact, that the chronicler Habersack had to admit that he could not discover the real names of some of them.

Two of the contestants appeared as Bradamante and Ruggiero, characters from the immensely popular romance "Orlando Furioso" by Ludovico Ariosto which had come out decades before but which still

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[248] On Duchess Margarete, see Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 275–277. Duke Ottavio was the grandson of Pope Paul III.

[249] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 19.

[250] Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 203.

[251] *"Herr von Tenebres,"* Habersack, *Krönungen*, p. 202.

structured the imaginary of many of the contestants and spectators at court festivals. Elizabeth may have known of Ariosto's character the Saracen Christian convert Ruggiero. He successfully defends Belgrade against the Greeks and serves Charlemagne in so doing. She may also have known of his love Bradamante whom he marries at the end. The great woman warrior Bradamante appears in the very first canto of Ariosto's epic and proceeds to unhorse Sacripante, King of Circassia, killing his mount in the process. When Sacripante asks who the warrior was, he is told, "You have been felled from horseback by a foeman/ Who is a valiant and courageous woman./ She is as beautiful as she is brave;"[252] In general in the epic, the literary scholar David Marsh has explained, "[t]he threat of Ottoman conquest looms behind the Carolingian fable of reconciliation…"[253] It seems an appropriate topic for the tilting field outside of Bratislava that September day: quarrels needed to be put aside due to the external threat, and love and marriage could resolve problems.

Two other costumed participants in the Bratislava tournament portrayed Lucretia and Tarquinia, characters from Livy's history of the beginning of the Roman Republic. Ostensibly, Tarquinia had been the son of the Etruscan king of Rome. He hatched a plot to rape Lucretia, a scene often depicted in contemporary art. After giving evidence to her husband of the crime, the next day Lucretia, in order to protect her honor, commits suicide (another popular scene for artistic depiction). Outrage at Tarquinia's vile act led to the successful revolt which overthrew the long period of Etruscan rule.

This juxtaposition of characters from Ariosto with characters from Livy reveals an important characteristic of Archduchess Elizabeth's education and intellectual formation: the mixing of Christian romance with Classical history and mythology. "Orlando Furiouso" was already a compendium of themes and motifs drawn from a variety of popular and literary sources including the *Aeneid*. The archduchess would be exposed to the Christian world of her mother's court chambers and chapels, the mythical world of chivalric romance, as well as the

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[252] Canto 1, verses 69–70. Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso. Part One*. Barbara Reynolds, trans. (London, 1973) p. 134. Decades before, Ariosto had refused to go to Hungary when his patron Cardinal Ippolito d'Este became Bishop of Buda. Reynolds, "Ludovico Ariosto and His Times (1474–1533)," *ibid.*, pp. 67–74. Here, p. 71.

[253] David Marsh, "Ruggiero and Leone: Revision and Restoration in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso" *MLN* 96 (1981) 144–151. Here, p. 151.

world of Classical texts so popular with some intellectuals such as her brothers' tutor Busbecq and her godfather Oláh.[254]

The reported festivities ended with another tournament at which the contestants took turns trying to hit a wooden target, probably shaped like a "Turk's" head as they galloped by. This contest was held on Thursday, 16 September. Little is know of the remaining time the court spent in Bratislava that Fall. Elizabeth's time there could not have been totally enjoyable. In addition to the plague and the fire, tensions with the Hungarian gentry meant that, according to the Venetian ambassador Micheli, many of them refused to kiss her father's hand or show him the reverence due the heir to the throne.[255] Her grandfather Ferdinand's health was also declining. He was beginning to behave rather strangely: at best distracted, at worst melancholy, at times hostile. His loss of appetite meant that he was beginning to lose weight. Historian Paula Sutter Fichtner theorized that he was dying of tuberculosis.[256]

Wiener Neustadt revisited

María's court retired from Bratislava and returned to Wiener Neustadt where she was to await the birth of her new child. She and her daughters and younger sons were also preparing to say goodbye to the two older boys, Rudolf and Ernst. Preparations by now were far advanced for their trip to their aunts and uncle in Spain. From around 1558, it had become increasingly clear that the Spanish heir to the throne, Carlos, was suffering from various psychological problems in addition

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[254] Busbecq was named head of the younger archdukes' court on 1 Jan., 1567. Zweder R.W.M. von Martels, *Augerius Gislenius Busbequius. Leven en werk van de keiserlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote* (Groningen, n.d.), col. 318. He would live at the castle in Vienna and be charged with organizing and supervising the imperial library (cols. 319, 324, 326–327). The larger intellectual world with which Busbecq connected the children at court included the circle of scholars in Elizabeth's aunt's residence in Jülich-Cleves who were working to set up a university in Duisburg and the ambitious printing project run by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp where a polyglot Bible was being produced. Busbecq's friend Andreas Masius, a specialist in Old Testament exegesis and Syriac, contributed to this undertaking. Max Rooses, *Christophe Plantin, Imprimeur Anversois*, Second Ed. (Antwerp, 1896), p. 129.

[255] Micheli to Doge, Bratislava, 2 Sept., 1563: Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 233.

[256] Paula Sutter Fichtner, "A Community of Illness: Ferdinand I and his Family," pp. 203–216 in Martina Fuchs and Alfred Kohler, eds., *Kaiser Ferdinand I. Aspekte eines Herrscherlebens* (Münster, 2003). Here, pp. 203–204.

to his physical difficulties. Queen María had not given up her claims to the Spanish succession when she had married back in 1548, so she stood close behind her brother and her nephew in the line to inherit the Habsburgs' rich Iberian holdings. The trip of the two central European brothers, Rudolf and Ernst, westward was seen at least partly as insurance in case of the unexpected deaths of the pair's male relatives in Spain. Rudolf, for example, could have taken over the realms as crown prince if the situation demanded.[257]

The day arrived in early November when the two archdukes, accompanied by their tutor Donner as well as the experienced traveler Busbecq and the new imperial ambassador to Spain, Queen María's one-time Master of the Horse, Adam von Dietrichstein, left for the land of María's birth.[258] They would travel overland via Trent and Milan and then by galley from Albenga to Barcelona. The court composer Vaet had written a motet for the occasion: its verses included, "A prosperous journey to the wards of the gods who soon will have begun their travels to Spanish lands."[259] Did Elizabeth imagine as the travelers left Neustadt Castle with 250 horses in train that she would not see her older brothers again for over twelve years?

Her father left not long thereafter on a three-month trip to take the oaths of obedience from his new subjects in the confederated lands of the Crown of Saint Václav: he was off for Olomouc and Wrocław, Lüben and Bautzen, leaving the six children with their pregnant mother in Wiener Neustadt. Emperor Ferdinand wintered in the castle in Vienna. The older people at the two courts no doubt waited for news from Trent. There, the council participants were winding up, finalizing the ground rules for a reinvigorated and reformed Roman Catholicism. This was a turning point in Elizabeth's life: her father was taking up the reins of government in his various lands as her grandfather wasted away in the Vienna winter. Orthodoxy was being outlined and sealed by the Church fathers. The Counter-Reformation could

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[257] The general situation, and María's marriage contract and related documents in particular, are discussed in Peter Rassow, "Karls V. Tochter Maria als Eventuel-Erbin der spanischen Reiche," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 49 (1958), pp. 161–168. On Rudolf and Ernst, p. 167.

[258] On Dietrichstein generally and his diplomatic mission to Spain specifically: Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1, pp. 33–66.

[259] "*Currite foelices, divorum cura, quod oras*." Translated by Dunning in Giovanelli, *novus*, p. ix. The text goes on to mention how Ernst found it hard to give way to Rudolf.

begin. Archbishop Antonín of Prague participated in the closing ceremonies of the council; now Pope Pius had to negotiate the acceptance of its canons and decrees by the secular world.

For Elizabeth, the details of the legislation at Trent probably did not impact her life in Wiener Neustadt much. One decision from the south may have had some practical effects: the writings of Luis de Granada were approved, removing the suspicion that had come with the appearance of some of his titles on a Spanish list of prohibited books. Elizabeth's schooling and her mother's pregnancy were the central aspects of the archduchess' life at the thrice-queen's court. There was a new bishop of Wiener Neustadt to get to know, too: the Benedictine monk Christian Napponaeus had left his position as prior at the Aachen Imperial Abbey of Kornelimünster with its important relics to come to the fortified city near the Hungarian border and its small diocese. His arrival, together with the dominance of men from the Low Countries in the chapel, shows the continued importance of the Low Countries as a source of courtiers, diplomats, administrators, and clerics.

Discussions and preparations surrounding the possible marriages of her aunts to the dukes of Ferrara and Florence surely also occupied the short days and long nights. The French ambassador Bochetel was reporting to Dowager Queen Catherine that December about these discussions.

King Maximilian had completed his tour of the Lusatias, Silesia and Moravia, a tour in some ways similar to the one Dowager Queen Catherine was making with her young charge King Charles out west in France, showing the flag and taking oaths of allegiance. Maximilian rushed back to Austria over the wintry Bohemian roads, stopping briefly to report to his father in Vienna on 16 February before continuing on to Wiener Neustadt where Queen María was expecting any day. The courtier Khevenhüller reports that the king made it back in time: a little girl, named Maria after her mother, was born on 19 February.[260] Elizabeth had a baby sister!

The excitement of the birth was accompanied by a new responsibility for Archduchess Elizabeth: not yet ten years old, she was asked to

[260] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 20. Maximilian reported the news to the traveling archdukes and the imperial ambassador Dietrichstein in a letter dated 10 March, 1564. Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1, pp. 171–172. He pointed out that happily he had arrived three days before Archduchess Maria's birth.

join her older sister Anna and her uncle Karl as godparents of the littlest archduchess. Her mother's previous namesake had passed away over seven years before. Now in the dead of Winter, 1564 another girl was placed under the protection of the Virgin while Elizabeth and Anna stood by the font, pledging to assist in her Christian upbringing. The oldest brother present, Matthias, celebrated his seventh birthday only days after Maria's birth. The youngest child, Wenzel, turned three fewer than three weeks later.

The six children's life with the swaddled sibling would be short. The queen's court, like the king's, had begun to spend more time in Vienna. Elizabeth's mother and father were taking on larger roles in the governance of the realms as her grandfather slipped further away. They were in the capital for Holy Week and Easter with their children when Elizabeth's first godchild, baby Maria, died on Palm Sunday, not much more than a month old. The baby's death would be tied to the long-established rituals of the Passion, and it can be imagined that those final Lenten days bore hard on her young godmothers. That year, Elizabeth's religious education was bound to a hard reality. The joyous sounds of Easter celebrations were muffled by the mourning.

In recording the birth of Archduchess Maria in his journal, Khevenhüller added, "but soon thereafter in Vienna she went to sleep in God."[261] Knowing that Elizabeth's brothers Rudolf and Ernst and his new ambassador Dietrichstein, still on the way to Spain, would want to know the news, King Maximilian wrote from Vienna on 18 April informing them of Maria's death. He included in his letter information about new diplomatic developments. King Philip had named a new ambassador and his brother-in-law Maximilian was not too happy about the choice: Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay. Chantonnay, now fifty, had served as a chamberlain in Archduke Maximilian's court back when Elizabeth's father had been twenty and in service himself, to Emperor Charles. Maximilian, in a rather confused episode, ran away from the court and it was his chamberlain Chantonnay who had turned him in.[262] Now in the later 1560's it was Chantonnay who would represent Elizabeth's uncle Philip in the continued tortuous dis-

[261] *"Die ist aber bald hernoch zu Wien in Gott entschlafen."* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 20.

[262] Sutter Fichtner, *Emperor Maximilian II*, p. 15.

cussions concerning the future of her sister Anna and herself, compounding the difficulties with personal animosity.

In his letter to Dietrichstein Maximilian also wrote that Polish representatives were in Vienna pushing for a marriage alliance between Elizabeth's seventeen-year-old aunt Johanna and the Transylvanian prince and sometime Hungarian pretender Janos Sigismund.[263] Like his father, Maximilian seemed reluctant to commit to such support for the striving rival. A royal marriage would lend the prince's cause legitimacy. It seems that King Maximilian was leaning more toward having military means determine the outcome in the east. A trial by battle was chosen over conciliation through a wedding.

The marriage negotiations concerning the mourning Archduchess Elizabeth also were continuing. Her aunt Queen Elisabeth in Spain was becoming involved. The French ambassador there Ébrard wrote a secret memo to the dowager queen Catherine telling her that he believed that the Spanish queen would be an asset in the negotiations about the possible marriage of Marie, the queen of Scotland with the Spanish heir Carlos as well as in those concerning Elizabeth. He wrote, "the Catholic queen has communicated to me a proposal concerning the marriage of the second daughter of the King of the Romans, to which I would strongly desire that the queen [Catherine] gives her intention."[264] Ébrard's opinion was that Catherine's daughter Queen Elisabeth would be a good intermediary because of her "goodness and virtue."[265]

Imperial Ambassador Dietrichstein composed reports to Emperor Ferdinand and King Maximilian about a month after the archdukes and he arrived in Spain. In a postscript to his report to Maximilian, he and Queen María's one-time courtier Dietrichstein reported on a recent meeting with the French ambassador Ébrard at which the French representative had brought up the issue of an Elizabeth Habsburg-Charles Valois match, saying that he had also brought up the topic with King

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[263] Maximilian to Dietrichstein, Vienna, 18 April, 1564, Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1, pp. 189–190.

[264] *"La reine cathol. m'a communiqué un propos touchant le marriage de la seconde fille du roi des Romains, à quoi je désirerais fort que la reine me commandât son intention,"* Ébard to Catherine de Medici, 11 May, 1564. Cabié, *Ambassade*, p. 264.

[265] *"bonté et vertu," ibid.*

Philip.[266] A few days later, Dietrichstein wrote Maximilian again. This time he reported that Ébrard told him that when the French ambassador pressed the Spanish king on the subject, Philip was noncommittal, saying that he had to think about it.[267]

Back in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt, things were looking down. Imperial Vice Chancellor Seld reported to Duke Albrecht of Bavaria that sad April that Queen María was a "good, modest, melancholy woman."[268] After the death of her second child in a little over a year, and the second baby named Maria on top of that, the queen had reason to be depressed. It was a character trait that would be associated with Elizabeth's mother her entire life. The personal grief was compounded by the sickness of the queen's father-in-law Emperor Ferdinand, one of her closest associates at the court. The emperor had to turn over the daily affairs of governing the Empire, his realms, and his other territories to King Maximilian due to the emperor's declining health.

It in unclear just how closely the sickly emperor was following affairs at this time, but there were some grounds for optimism. After Pope Pius had confirmed the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent in January, he turned to a diplomatic initiative to get them accepted. This entailed some concessions to the secular powers. For example, the long-delayed papal recognition of Elizabeth's father's election as King of the Romans occurred that February.[269] In addition, Pope Pius issued *breves* authorizing bishops in the Empire and Hungary to permit the Chalice to the laity, handing the Habsburgs an important concession in their discussions and debates with Protestants, and recognizing what Maximilian and others had long held: such a practice was theologically tenable and politically desirable. When the archbishop of Esztergom had called a synod earlier in the year, Maximilian had written telling him that a publication of the Trent decrees was not wished at that

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[266] Dietrichstein to Maximilian, Valencia, 19 April, 1564. Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol.1, p. 200.

[267] Dietrichstein to Maximilian, Valencia, 22 April, 1564. *Ibid*., vol.1, p. 202.

[268] *"gutte eingezogne melancholische fraw."* Letter dated 22 April, 1564 quoted in Edel, *Kaiser und Kurpfalz*, p. 158, note 118. Also quoted in Kohler, *Ferdinand I.*, p. 305.

[269] For the background on the complicated negotiations concerning this matter, which related to King Maximilian's pledge of allegiance to the papacy, see Laubach, *Ferdinand I. als Kaiser*, pp. 604–616. The court counselor (and later Imperial Vice Chancellor) Dr. Johann Ulrich Zasius reported to the Bavarian duke Albrecht that the Imperial court was optimistic, "*weil die Bäpst. Ht. alles das eingangen, das wir letstlich begerg haben*" (p. 614).

time.[270] Now, with the concession on the Chalice issue, such a publication was politically palatable.

The religious world of Archduchess Elizabeth's childhood was a specific one. For the first ten years of her life or so, discussions had been ongoing about reform and reformation, about proper practices and beliefs. Now, things were becoming a bit more settled, although still not finalized into the specific constellation of custom, practice, and dogma which became known as Tridentine Roman Catholicism. The concession of the Chalice to the laity meant that, at least in the lands of Elizabeth's upbringing (i.e. the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of Hungary), orthodoxy was still more broadly defined than it would be later in her life.

Thoughts that Spring were with the ailing emperor. At the beginning of May Elizabeth's aunt Duchess Anna of Bavaria arrived in Vienna to assist in caregiving, a task carried out to a large extent by the duchess, her sister-in-law Queen María, and their court staffs. Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand also arrived from his offices in Prague and a rather moving death watch began. At the end of the month, the emperor gave leave to his daughter Anna and son Ferdinand and they left the city. In June, the young archdukes were removed from the care of the women's court, lightening the load on the mourning queen and her courtiers and allowing them to concentrate on the matter at hand. Elizabeth's brothers Mathias, Maximilian, Albrecht and even the three-year-old Wenzel were moved to separate apartments outside of the *Hofburg* in a residence in the Herrengasse nearby.[271] Things moved a step further on 11 June when the Last Rites were administered, but Ferdinand hung on, ostensibly wanting to reach the Feast of Saint James, a patron of significance to the Spanish-born emperor and one which surely recalled for him the days of his youth in those sunnier climes.

Archduchess Elizabeth's tenth birthday occurred during a somber time. Her fifteen-year-old sister Anna, her thirty-six-year-old mother María, and she were now the only family members left among the staff and ladies in the women's apartments in the Vienna castle. The

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[270] Laubach, *Ferdinand I.*, p. 511. The nuntio Delfino had been negotiating with the emperor back in late September concerning bringing the Trent meeting to a conclusion while the two of them were in Bratislava with Archbishop Miklós for María and Maximilian's coronations (p. 507).

[271] Notflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie*, pp. 39, 46.

crying and laughing and playing of the boys (even though the eldest, Matthias, surely tried to direct them) were no longer welcome distractions. Attention was centered on the wishes of the fading grandfather. His confessor Brother Matthias read him passages from the Bible and music was played to help ease Ferdinand's transition to the afterlife. With his family in attendance, he died at seven o'clock on the Feast of Saint James, 25 July, 1564. His son Maximilian reported that the emperor had "passed as if in sleep without any pains."[272]

[272] *"glaich wie in ainem schlaf an…allen schmertzen verschiden,"* Letter to Ambassador Dietrichstein, 2 Aug., 1564. Quoted in Kohler, *Ferdinand I*, p. 307.

CHAPTER THREE

EMPRESS AND IMPERIAL DAUGHTER

With the death of her grandfather much changed for Queen María and Archduchess Elizabeth. The women's court remained in Vienna. This city of about 20,000 residents would become the court's primary residence. Elizabeth left the now-familiar confines of the castle at Wiener Neustadt and discovered anew her birthplace on the Danube.[1] With the exception of one major voyage back to Augsburg with the court to an Imperial Assembly in a couple of years, no other long trips were undertaken by María's court and daughters Elizabeth and Anna until their weddings in 1570. The princesses did travel to Bratislava during meetings of the Hungarian estates on a number of occasions.

At first, Vienna and the Habsburgs' castle there were marked by the public mourning rituals for the deceased emperor. Notices had been sent out to the courts of Europe announcing his passing. Condolence visits began within weeks as representatives from places such as Mantua, Spain, Venice, Savoy, and Rome arrived for audiences with the new emperor and his family at which the envoys conveyed their governments' regrets. The Vienna courts had to be shaken up and reorganized: with the death of an emperor (as with the death of any head of a court) the various courtiers, officials, and servants were discharged. Empress María and Emperor Maximilian now had to decide who to keep on, recommend for service elsewhere, let go, and provide with pensions for their retirement. Inheritance issues between the siblings also had to be regulated. Who was responsible, for example, for the huge debts which Ferdinand had piled up? Perhaps most importantly, international treaties had to be renegotiated: the truce that Sir Ogier Busbecq had brought back to Frankfurt the previous year had been negotiated in the name of Emperor Ferdinand. Now, a new one

[1] For a general introduction to life in the city at this time, see Susanne Claudine Pils, "Die Stadt als Lebensraum: Wien im Spiegel der Oberkammeramtsrechnunge 1556–1576," *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Wien* 49 (1993), pp. 119–172. See also Joseph F. Patrouch, "Vienna," in Jonathan Dewald, ed., *Europe 1450–1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World* (NY, 2004) vol. 6, pp. 154–157.

in the name of Emperor Maximilian was required. The uncertainty concerning the situation on the Hungarian front provided locals with opportunities to disturb the peace there.

On Sunday, 30 July, 1564 Ferdinand's confessor Brother Matthias (who the new emperor took into his service as confessor) held a sermon in the castle chapel over the sarcophagus of the deceased in which the cleric outlined the emperor's final moments. According to Father Matthias, at the end the emperor had wished to be addressed using his Christian name. Ferdinand had prayed for God's protection for the emperor's family and subjects. Elizabeth's grandfather had also asked the friar to say to the dying man, "Ferdinand, my brother, fight like a pious knight of Christ, be true to your lord until death."[2]

Emperor Ferdinand had wished to be buried in Prague next to his beloved wife Anna, but the preparations for this burial would drag on. For various reasons, including the difficulties on the eastern front and the sickness of the new emperor, the body of the deceased would remain in Vienna until August of the following year before the final ceremonies were held. After a funeral Mass in Saint Stephen's Cathedral on 6 August, 1565 where the sarcophagus was displayed in the black-draped choir, the bishop of Oradea delivered a sermon in which the Hungarian cleric particularly emphasized Ferdinand's important role in the defense of that kingdom.[3] After a procession on foot from the cathedral down the hill to Red Tower Gate the next day, the emperor's remains were loaded onto a decorated wagon for the long overland trip to his final resting place. Elizabeth's uncle Karl accompanied the body from Vienna to the Bohemian capital where it was interred in Saint Vitus Cathedral, as wished next to the late queen. There Emperor Ferdinand and Queen Anna rest still.

The reputation of the late emperor was generally good, particularly in Protestant circles, because of his role in negotiating and enforcing

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[2] *"Ferdinand, mein Bruder, streite wie ein frommer Ritter Christi, sey deinem Herrn bis in den Tod getreu."* Quoted in Bucholtz, *Geschichte*, vol. 8, p. 757*.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. 8, p. 769. A brief description of the funeral ceremonies and a contemporary illustration of the funeral cortege can be found in the Wiener Neustadt exhibition catalog *Ferdinand I*, pp. 156–157. See also Altfahrt, "politische Propaganda," pp. 309–311. A contemporary copy of a miniature portrait of the deceased emperor in his deathbed was in the important collection of the colleague of Ferdinand's children, Hieronymous Beck: See Heinz, "Porträtbuch," p. 201, Nr. 226. (With description on p. 206.) A depiction of the aging emperor in his last years, as Archduchess Elizabeth would have known and remembered him, is also on p. 201: Nr. 225.

religious peace in the Empire in the 1550's and perhaps also because of the relative religious toleration which characterized his rule in Bohemia, Hungary, and his hereditary territories.[4] As Elizabeth listened to her grandfather being praised, she would have been presented with a list of characteristics that, while perhaps formulaic, were nonetheless grounded to some extent in fact and could in any case act as themes or models for her future.

A little over two months after the old emperor's death, the bishop of London, Dr. Edmund Grindal, held a memorial sermon in his cathedral for Ferdinand, the prior English king's uncle.[5] In his sermon, Bishop Edmund touched upon aspects of the emperor's policies and life which were widely respected. These included mention of how Ferdinand had lived a virtuous and chaste life within the bounds of matrimony and after the death of his wife Queen Anna. God rewarded him with many children and grandchildren. To this way of thinking, Archduchess Elizabeth's existence was to some extent the result of her grandfather's proper sexual behavior. How one acted during marriage as well as after the death of one's spouse had significance.

Another theme touched upon in the bishop's sermon was how Ferdinand had been content to be crowned emperor without the express prior consent of the pope. This was a tremendously important move in the eyes of many in the multi-confessional Europe of the later sixteenth century. It was also known, Bishop Edmund continued, that the emperor had pressed the Church authorities gathered at Trent for permission for the laity to receive the Chalice, a key point for many Protestants and one that showed the Habsburg emperor's separate path from the one advocated by the papal representatives. Ferdinand's commitment to peace in the Empire was lauded as well.

One of the primary themes of the bishop's sermon dealt with Emperor Ferdinand's role in the defense of Christendom, particularly in the years before he ascended the imperial throne. The defense of Vienna in the face of the massive Ottoman army thirty-five years before was explicitly mentioned by the English ecclesiastic. It was remembered

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[4] Arno Strohmeyer wrote of Ferdinand's *de facto* if not *de jure* toleration: *Konfessionskonflikt und Herrschaftsordnung. Widerstandsrecht bei den österreichischen Ständen (1550–1650)* (Mainz, 2006), p. 67.

[5] Edmund Grindal, *A sermon at the funeral solemnitie of the most high and mighty Prince Ferdinandus, the late Emperour of most famous memorye* (London, 1564). Unpaginated.

as one of Elizabeth's grandfather's most important undertakings. The role of the city of Vienna as the bulwark against the infidels gave Elizabeth's birthplace and residence a significance beyond its position as a trading center or even imperial residence in the imagination of many women and men across Europe.

Political power as wielded by Elizabeth's grandfather and father was tied to the sword in Bishop Edmund's oration. He explained,

> The principal office required of a Christian Prince, over & above the dutie of another Christian, is the right use of the sword, put by God into his hand, for the defence of the godly and innocent, and for the repressing and punishing of the wicked. This sword is never so wel occupied, as when it is drawen in warres to defend christians, against infidels and enemies of Christian religion.

The Chief Mourners present at the funeral oration, men such as William, Marquis of Winchester and Thomas, Earl of Sussex, heard reminders of the limits and purposes of political violence and a reminder that it was better to raise swords against non-Christians than against fellow Christians. It was an important and oft-repeated, if oft-ignored, lesson in the period.

Weeks after his initial elegy, Father Matthias took again to the pulpit in Vienna memorializing Archduchess Elizabeth's late grandfather. This time, he chose as his text the Gospel story of Jesus and the widow of Naim. [Luke 7:11–17].[6] The ten-year-old archduchess had the chance to ruminate on death: first her godchild and sister Maria had passed on, four months later her grandfather. What was the proper role for those who remained? The biblical passage on which her father and grandfather's confessor spoke revealed a merciful Jesus who took pity on a mourning mother by the city gate, touching the bier on which her dead son lay. Miraculously, the dead man sat up and spoke! It is of course not possible to know exactly how Elizabeth reacted to this story, but it is clear that she was presented with an evocative image of a personal relationship between a mourning woman and Jesus who stood at the gateway exercising power over death and life.

Summer and Fall, 1564 were busy seasons for the family. Emperor Ferdinand was the last male of his generation, so now a raft of inheritance issues were to be settled. The last surviving sibling, Emperor Ferdinand's sister Catarina, was the dowager queen of Portugal and

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[6] Wolksgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 88, note 1.

guardian of the heir to that empire's throne, Sebastian, but her claims to her mother Queen Juana of Castile's territories were superseded by those of Dowager Queen Catarina's nephew Philip. Any claims the dowager queen had in Portugal or its overseas possessions concerning places like Goa or Sri Lanka were only temporarily in her hands until her grandson Sebastian came of age. This took place four years later, in 1568.

In any case, Catarina had difficulties enough with her co-regent and the kingdom's tortuous African policies and campaigns in the period. She could not play more than a rather distant role in the lives of her niece Empress María or her nephew Emperor Maximilian. The plans floated to have their child Elizabeth marry Dowager Queen Catarina's grandson Sebastian represented perhaps the most significant aspect of her waning influence, but this marriage prospect was due to the active intervention of Elizabeth's aunt Juana and uncle Philip, too, who saw the marriage of their sister María's daughter to Juana's son as an important way to bind the Iberian and central European branches of the family.

In July Empress María's one-time Master of the Horse Dietrichstein reported from Madrid that he was sending two portraits of potential Iberian matches for the archduchesses: one depicting the late Maria of Portugal's nineteen-year-old son Carlos and one showing the ten-year-old king of that realm, Juana's son Sebastian.[7] These two portraits (the first is probably the one which now hangs in the Art Historical Museum in Vienna) were undoubtedly objects of much contemplation and discussion in the empress's apartments in Vienna after the paintings arrived.[8] Archduchess Elizabeth and Archduchess Anna could now better imagine their future bridegrooms. Their images were a bit skewed perhaps, especially when it came to their Spanish cousin. Dietrichstein had to explain in his letter accompanying the Spanish

[7] Dietrichstein to Maximilian II, Madrid, 4 July, 1564. Hans von Voltelini, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem k.u.k. Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 13 (1892), pp. XXVI–CLXXIV. Here, p. XXVIII, Nr. 8653; Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, vol. 1, pp. 240–241. The shifting positions of King Philip in the negotiations concerning his son are only one aspect of the entire confused affair concerning that unfortunate prince. See Kohler, *Ferdinand I.*, pp. 290–291: the Spanish king had written two years before revealing his son's sickness and dampening hopes at the imperial court for the Archduchess Anna—"Don Carlos" match.

[8] KHM Inv. Nr. GG 3235. By Alonso Sánchez Coello.

heir's portrait that it was not exactly accurate: "the face is not so full and he is paler than he [is] in the painting, the eyes not so open and aware, the mouth always open, the left leg a good deal longer than the right and the jacket also hides a lot…"[9]

Before the imperial couple's two daughters could be married, however, the older generation's business needed to be taken care of. At Emperor Ferdinand's death in July, 1564, he had five unmarried daughters and one unmarried son, in addition to their four married sisters, the new, already-married emperor Maximilian, and his brother Ferdinand who had secretly married a commoner. One of the daughters, Margarete, a sickly 28-year-old, had already been given permission to enter a convent. Traditionally, the marriage portions laid out for the family's daughters stood for their parts of the family inheritance, so Maximilian now had to worry about only six siblings and how to support them.

His father had been thinking about this problem for some time. Ferdinand's solution had been to divide those lands over which he had control between his three sons, falling back on a tradition of partible inheritance that had roots in the family's central European history. Maximilian, as the eldest, had already been designated heir to the various crowns to which the Habsburgs made claim: the Empire's, Bohemia's, and Hungary's. He was also given the two Danubian territories Below and Beyond the Enns River.

According to the late emperor's last wishes, Maximilian's brother Ferdinand, now 35, was to end his term as regent of the Bohemian lands in the near future and move westward to take control of the Habsburg lands in Tyrol, around Constance and Burgau, in the Breisgau, and into Alsace ("*Vorderösterreich*"). Archduke Ferdinand would eventually establish his primary residences in and around Innsbruck. The youngest, bachelor, brother, Karl, 24, had already been traveling about in the southeastern stretches of Habsburg territory accepting the obedience of the representatives of those lands. He was designated by his father's final will and testament as the new hereditary ruler of a conglomeration of territories which included Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Gorizia, Rijeka, Trieste, and elsewhere along the northern Adriatic Sea

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[9] *"das angesiht ist nit so vol und er blaicher dan er in gemäl, die augen nit so offen und aufgethan, der munt stats offen, der linkh fues ain guetz lenger den der reht und dekht der rokh auch vill…"* Voltelini, "Urkunden," pp. XXVIII–XXIX.

("*Innerösterreich*"). He would soon settle into his primary residence in the city of Graz.

As a potential marriage partner for Karl, his brother Maximilian thought of the unmarried queen of England, the controversial Elizabeth Tudor who had taken over that kingdom's throne seven years prior. Such a match would continue a long-standing Habsburg and pre-Habsburg tradition of alliance between the English rulers and the rulers of the territories across the English Channel north of France. It might also assist Maximilian's brother-in-law King Philip, the widowed spouse of Queen Elizabeth's predecessor on the throne. In May, 1565, the new emperor used the excuse of returning his late father's insignia as Knight of the Garter to send Adam Schweckonitz, Count von Mitterburg, a territory in the Istrian holdings of Archduke Karl, to London to follow up on this idea, continuing a rather convoluted, off-and-on negotiation which ended, like all such negotiations with Elizabeth Tudor, without success.[10]

But what of Archduchesses Magdalena, Barbara, Helene, and Johanna, who ranged in age from a spinsterly 32 to a quite marriageable 17? Archduke Ferdinand could not be expected to support them in their present residence at Innsbruck, so alternative arrangements needed to be made.[11] The eldest, Magdalena, had been originally thought of as a potential bride for the duke of Savoy, an important imperial border duchy near France, but she had protested to their father via her sister Duchess Anna of Bavaria, preferring instead the celibate life. (She and her sisters had enjoyed a rather pious upbringing in Tyrol and were active participants in pilgrimages to local shrines.) It was decided that Archduchess Magdalena be permitted to join her sisters Margarete and Helene as nuns or canonesses, a more cost-effective

[10] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, p. 78. See also Susan Doran, "Religion and Politics and the Court of Elizabeth I: The Habsburg Marriage Negotiations of 1559–1567," *English Historical Review* 104 (1989), pp. 908–926. Mitterburg is located in Croatia and now known as Pazin. A later set of the Mitterburg's credentials to Elizabeth I's court dated Vienna [?], 15 March, 1566, can be found in Allan James Crosby, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1566–1568* (London, 1871), p. 33.

[11] A report dated 1564 listed the archduke's court expenses at 85,000 guilders, the imperial daughters' at 40,000. Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen," p. 218, Nr. XLVII.

alternative to married life, when seen from the perspectives of the three cash-strapped brothers.[12]

The brothers arranged for the government mint in the Tyrolean town of Hall to be turned over to the archduchesses' control and supported the establishment of a religious foundation for noblewomen there. Archduchess Magdalena and her younger sisters had wanted to join the Franciscans nuns in Munich near their sister Duchess Anna, but the Tyrolean estates objected, lobbying their new ruler Archduke Ferdinand to have the pious women remain in their province. After a transition and building period of over half a decade, a period which would witness the death of Archduchess Margarete in 1566, the other two women moved into the new foundation in December, 1569, still wearing the mourning clothes they had donned at the death of their father Emperor Ferdinand.[13] One thing they took with them to their new foundation was the prayerbook of Empress María's predecessor, Empress Eleonora of Portugal.[14]

Medals designed by the sculptor Hans Wild (who had also created the 1561 series of cast portrait medallions of the archduchesses) were issued in honor of the occasion of the opening of the convent. Magdalena's showed a bust of her on one side and a depiction of Saint Peter with the key on the other; Helena's had a depiction of Saint James with his staff on the reverse.[15] The sisters sponsored the establishment of a settlement of Jesuits in the town. These Jesuits served as their spiritual advisors and connected them to the circle around Peter Canisius who moved up into the Alps from Augsburg later in his career.

Back down in Vienna, the young archduchess Elizabeth had a very specific example before her of an alternative to marriage and service to the dynasty via the position of wife. Her pious aunts in Hall in Tyrol with their not-professed but nonetheless religious life connected to the Jesuits were examples to the noblewomen at court as well.[16] The his-

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[12] Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung*, vol. 8, pp. 728–729. See also Hamann, *Habsburger*, p. 271 (Magdalena), p. 277 (Margarete), p. 163 (Helene).

[13] Archduchess Margarete died in Innsbruck and was buried there. After the completion of the Hall foundation church, her sisters had her remains moved to be reburied in the new location where they were then living. Johannes-Ludovicus Gans, *Österreichisches Frawenzimmer*…(Cologne, 1638), p. 267

[14] Koppensteiner and Riegler, *Aufstieg eines Kaisers*, p. 176, Nr. 11.

[15] Habich, *Schaumünzen*, p. 472. Nr. 3242: Magdalena, 28.5 mm. Dated Innsbruck, 1568. Nr. 3243: Helena, 29 mm. Dated 1568.

[16] Historian R.J.W. Evans described the Hall foundation as "…a decorous institution for well-mannered spinsters." Evans, *Making*, p. 180.

torian Franz Bernhard von Bucholtz reported that when Archduchess Magdalena finally dissolved her court in preparation for retiring into the Hall foundation in 1568, six of her ladies-in-waiting went with her into the religious life.[17]

Suitors had already been arrayed for some of the archduchesses, and negotiations were spurred on by the financial difficulties Maximilian and his brothers were facing in late 1564.[18] These looked all the more drastic as, only weeks after the old emperor's death, action again flared up on the Hungarian front: the Habsburg fortress at Satu Mare in Transylvania was assaulted by troops under the command of Stephen Báthory, throwing the imperial court into an uproar and quickly threatening the Habsburgs' influence in and claims over that eastern stretch of the Hungarian kingdom and the strategically so important mining towns of Slovakia. Would Ferdinand's claims to the throne be extended to his son Maximilian or would the Habsburgs' Hungarian experiment be a short-lived one?

Báthory had been a page at King Ferdinand's court that had learned Italian while studying at Padua. He had accompanied Elizabeth's aunt Katharina when she married the duke of Mantua fifteen years before.[19] Now he was supporting the rival claimant to the Hungarian throne, "John II" Szapolyai, and making it clear to Elizabeth's father and uncles that the death of Emperor Ferdinand was not going to go unnoticed. Worried about the Ottomans' response, Emperor Maximilian sent a new ambassador to Constantinople to negotiate a renewal of the earlier truce. He also agreed that Fall to a wedding between his 25-year-old sister Barbara and Duke Alfonso II of Ferrara of the Este dynasty, hoping to be able to win his support (and money).[20] After months of

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[17] Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung*, vol. 8, p. 730.

[18] Meyenhofer reported that negotiations with Ferrara had started as early as 1561 and had picked up in Spring, 1563. "Frankreich, Kaiser Ferdinand I.," p. 330, note 7.

[19] Emeric Lukinich, "La jeunesse d'Etienne Báthory," pp. 18–46 in Polska Akademia Umietotnosci, *Etienne Báthory, Roi de Pologne, Prince de Transylvanie* (Cracow, 1935). Here, pp. 19–21, 29–30.

[20] On Duchess Barbara of Ferrara, see *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1964), vol. 6, pp. 40–41. See also Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 64–65 (with portrait by Francesco Terzio). Childless, she supported orphan girls in her duchy, setting up a foundation for their benefit. Her mother-in-law Dowager Duchess Renate, with whom she maintained good ties, was a daughter of the French king Louis XII. The sculptor Pastorino cast a medal of Barbara on the occasion of her 1565 marriage. See Dworschak, "Renaissancemedaille," p. 221. On the cultural life of the court at Ferrara: Alessandro Marcigliano, *Chivalric Festivals at the Ferrarese Court of Alfonso II d'Este* (NY, 2003).

long and complex negotiations, a second marriage was arranged, this time between the youngest of Elizabeth's many aunts, Archduchess Johanna, and the heir to the throne of Florence, Francesco de Medici, son of the reigning duke, Cosimo I.[21]

The dukes of Ferrara and Florence were in competition with each other on many levels, including those of rank and prestige.[22] Once one had signed a marriage agreement with the imperial house, it was clear that the other would have to do so as well in order to keep up the pace. By the end of 1565, three of the key northern Italian duchies (Mantua, Ferrara, and Florence) were in the hands of men married to Archduchess Elizabeth's aunts. This was a way of balancing the Italian influence of her uncle Philip who held the important duchy of Milan as well as the viceroyalty of Naples. These Habsburg holdings simultaneously blocked any renewed French designs on the peninsula.

Archduchess Elizabeth had the opportunity to meet her future uncle Duke Alfonso when he was in Vienna in Summer, 1565 to participate in the anniversary funeral ceremonies for her grandfather. Emperor Maximilian showed the duke the honor of meeting him at the Vienna city gate and hosted Alfonso at a banquet in the *Hofburg*. Relations with Duke Cosimo of Florence were cooler, even though he owed his position to some extent to the recognition of his rule which Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Charles had extended. Duke Cosimo had even been married to the daughter of the Spanish Viceroy of Naples, Eleonora de Toledo. When Duke Cosimo arrived for a courtesy visit later in 1565, Archduke Karl was sent out to meet him.

Elaborate gifts were brought north by the grooms' families, including carts filled with Mediterranean plants, oils, and olives. Elizabeth would have tasted the south as part of the experience of her aunts' upcoming weddings. These weddings were in some ways the culmination of the process which had been going on back in 1560 at the Vienna Festival where Archduchess Elizabeth saw the tournaments and jousts associated with the visit of her six unmarried aunts to the imperial residence

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[21] The courtier Khevenhuller reported in his diary that he was sent to Florence in June, 1565 to negotiate for help against the Ottomans and Transylvanians. *Tagebuch*, p. 22.

[22] For details concerning the two archduchesses' weddings in 1565, see Brigitte Grohs, "Italienische Hochzeiten. Die Vermählung der Erzherzoginnen Barbara und Johanna von Habsburg im Jahre 1565," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichte* 96 (1988), pp. 331–381.

that year. Now, half a decade later, all six were accounted for: they were to be either duchesses or virgins dedicated to the religious life.

The poverty of her father's generation was revealed as Elizabeth's aunts who were going into the new religious foundation in Hall sold their jewelry, which they would no longer need, to their sisters, the two brides-to-be. Elizabeth's uncles did not have enough pearls to sufficiently outfit their sisters in ways befitting their status: instead, court financial records reveal, they were forced to substitute something much more readily available in their Alpine lands: furs.[23] To save funds, the two archduchesses traveled south together from their residence at Innsbruck to the city of Trent where the first of their weddings, with representatives of the Este and Medici, took place. None of their brothers accompanied them. Their sisters Archduchesses Magdalena and Helena went with them part of the way, saying goodbye at Steinach, a village high along the Brenner Pass near the border of their family's hereditary lands.

Cardinal Charles Borromeo, representing Pope Pius, held Mass at Trent Cathedral in the presence of the two archduchesses before they left the prince-bishopric and headed southward into Imperial Italy. Barbara left one day before her baby sister Johanna. They met their sister Duchess Eleonora in Mantua before heading for their new residences and lives. Unfortunately for the new duchesses, the festivities associated with their weddings, which were quite elaborate and reported widely and in detail, were dampened by the news of and mourning associated with the death of the pope on 9 December. Johanna's wedding, which took place in Florence nine days later, was attended by a broad variety of Italian notables from the Church as well as the Italian duchies.[24] Ambassadors from her cousin King Philip in

[23] Grohs, "Italienische Hochzeiten," pp. 344–345.

[24] For publication information concerning some of the contemporary pamphlets describing Archduchess Johanna's *entrée* into Florence, the plays performed in connection with the celebrations there (which lasted into Carnival season, 1566), etc., see Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Anne Simon, eds., *Festivals and Ceremonies: A Bibliography of Works Relating to Court, Civic and Religious Festivals in Europe, 1500–1800* (NY, 2000), pp. 191–193. On Duchess (later Grand Duchess) Johanna, see Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 184–185. Her youngest daughter, Maria, would go on to become the last anointed queen of France. Recent paleopathological study of Johanna's remains have revealed that she probably died in childbirth of a ruptured uterus. She had a "congenital dislocation of the hip" and an "impressive deformity of the pelvis" along with "severe scoleosis of lumbar column." The deformed pelvis clearly led to difficult (and ultimately fatal) deliveries. "The Medici Project: First Anthropological

Spain as well as from the courts of her sisters the duchesses of Bavaria, Cleves, Mantua, and Ferrara were all in attendance, as was the ambassador of France.

Back at the imperial court, which had moved to Linz from Vienna late in the year, Archduchesses Anna and Elizabeth probably realized what the weddings of their last two single aunts meant: their turns were next. Elizabeth at eleven and a half was still too young to marry, but she was not too young to be engaged. Her older sister, at sixteen, was old enough for both. The Spanish ambassador Thomas Perrenot de Chantonnay had arrived at court in Spring of the year, the Venetian ambassador reported, to pursue the Spanish and Portuguese marriage projects in order to make sure that Archduchess Elizabeth would not be married to the French king. He was also there to discuss the ticklish issue of arranging for her uncle King Philip's investiture with the imperial duchies of Milan and Siena.[25] International and dynastic events would intervene, however, and delay the girls' marriages for years.

In the meantime, the reorganization of their lives and the lives of the courts in Vienna continued. This reorganization probably did not affect the women's court as much as those of Maximilian, his two brothers, and even the four young princes with their separate establishment in apartments outside of the castle proper: the empress position had been vacant anyway. There was no existing female court which had to be shut down or transformed from one serving a reigning queen or empress to one serving a dowager. Of course the etiquette would have shifted as María moved up in status from queen to empress, reaching the lofty heights her parents had once occupied. Medals coined earlier with her depiction had often related her in their inscriptions to her

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and Paleopathological Results," http://www.paleopatologia.it. (Accessed 20.3.07.) Johanna bore seven children. The eldest, Eleonora, born in March, 1566, married her sister Eleonora's eldest son, Vincenzo, who had been born in 1562. One daughter was named Anna, another Isabella. Johanna was buried in the Medici family crypt in Florence's San Lorenzo Basilica holding a simple wooden rosary.

[25] Contarini to Doge, Vienna, 15 July, 1565. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 297. On the arrival of Chantonnay, see note 1: Contarini report dated 13 April, 1565. Leonardo Contarini had been named Venetian ambassador to King Maximilian's court back in July, 1563. At that time, he was the only foreign diplomat posted there (p. ix). Giovanni da Lezze and Michele Suriano had been briefly there in Summer, 1563 to congratulate the king on his multiple elections (pp. xi, xiv).

imperial sire; now, her husband was an equal to her father and uncle, and María was an equal to her mother.[26]

The metal representation of female rule had left images behind, with medals showing Marie of Burgundy, Mary of Habsburg as governor of the Low Countries, and Anna Jagiellon, the late emperor's consort available, among others.[27] More importantly in this context, depictions of Maximilian I's consort Bianca Maria Sforza and María's mother Empress Isabel were available. In the model of a coin dated around 1506, Maximilian I is wearing armor and the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, while Bianca Maria is half hidden behind her husband. On the reverse, a depiction of Saint Mary nursing the infant Jesus ties the Sforza ruler to motherhood.[28] With two posthumous medals showing Empress María's parents Charles V and Isabel, the empress is given an entire side of the medal, with inscriptions tying her to her husband.[29] A third medal, cast by Leone Leoni a decade after the empress had died, Isabel is still identified as Charles V's wife, but she does not share the medal with any humans: only the Three Graces with putti people the reverse.[30] A 1575 model of the imperial couple dedicates one side to Emperor Maximilian, the other to Empress María. In the inscription she is not referred to as the emperor's wife, but as the empress.[31]

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[26] Dworschak, "Renaissancemedaille," p. 224 shows two cast medaillons by "Meister SB" [probably Severin Brachmann] showing Maria. The first, a jeton dated 1558, has King Maximilian on one side and María on the other. She is described as Queen of Bohemia and daughter of Emperor Charles V. A large one-sided cast silver medal depicting only María reads "*Maria D.G. Regina Boemiae Car V Imp. Filia.*" A later large (75 mm.) silver medal by the sculptor Antonio Abondio, who joined the court in 1566, shows the empress with the inscription "*Maria Avg: Caro. V: F: MAXMIL: VXOR.*" (p. 227); a 1575 medal showing Maximilian on one side and María on the other has no inscription for the emperor. The empress' inscription simply reads "Maria Imper." with the date (*ibid.*). A similar medal from 1575 is depicted in Heinz Winter, ed., *Glanz des Hauses Habsburg. Die habsburgische Medaille im Münzkabinett des Kunsthistorischen Museums* (Vienna, 2009), p. 75, Nr. 33 and ill. 11. On this one, Maximilian's side reads „*IMP: CAES:*". The emperor wears armor and the collar of a knight of the Golden Fleece. The empress wears a partial veil and a fur-trimmed coat. The expressions of authority use differing visual languages.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 69, Nr. 4, 5 on Marie of Burgundy; p. 72, Nr. 19 on Mary of Habsburg (with brothers Charles and Ferdinand); p. 74, Nr. 26 on Anna of Jagiellon (with husband Ferdinand).

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 70, Nr. 9: „*MAXIMILIANVS RO REX E BIANCA M CONIGES IV.*".

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 72, Nr. 15 (dated after 1549): "*DIVA ISABELLA AVGVSTA CAROLI V VX.*" and 18 (dated 1530): "*IZABELA CAROLI IMPERATORIS VXOR.*".

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 73, Nr. 25 (dated 1549): „*DIVA ISABELLA AVGVSTA CAROLI V VX.*"

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 75, Nr. 33 (dated 1575): „*MARIA IMPER: - MDLXXV.*"

María was the first Holy Roman Empress in a quarter of a century. Her mother Empress Isabel had died back in 1539 when María was only eleven years old, so the new empress probably had only vague memories of what it meant to be treated and act as an empress. There would have been very few people in Vienna in 1564 that had experienced the reign of Empress Isabel. This meant that Queen María and her staff had to some extent free hands in organizing the ritual details of life and the representations of female authority. (Limited as the court was by fiscal realities.)

Research could have been conducted into Empress Isabel's predecessors, but this, too, would take one far back in time when the sources were no doubt not very rich and detailed: Bianca Maria Sforza had only experienced Maximilian's reign as an "elected Roman" emperor for two years (she died in 1510) and the previous empress, Eleonora, who María and Elizabeth knew from her grave in Wiener Neustadt, had died almost a century before, in 1467. During the preparations for María and Maximilian's *entrée* to Vienna, Emperor Ferdinand had ordered his officials to open a sealed room in the Wiener Neustadt castle in order to locate a portrait of the deceased predecessor Eleonora. The potential court painter Giuseppe Arcimboldo from Milan was asked to copy the painting.[32]

Both Empress Isabel and Empress Eleonora were from Portugal where Elizabeth's great aunt Catarina was dowager queen, so perhaps some Portuguese influence could have been assumed or researched, but it seems more likely that royal precedents were followed, perhaps with some elaboration, following the practices established for the most recent Bohemian and Hungarian queen, Anna Jagiellon.

Up until early 1564 Elizabeth's parents had planned to continue their residency in Wiener Neustadt, even though King Maximilian was conducting more and more of the sick emperor's business from the main offices in Vienna.[33] Now that Ferdinand was dead the move to

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[32] Silvio Leydi, "Giuseppe Arcimboldo in Mailand: Dokumente und Hypothesen. Regesten zur Mailander Zeit," pp. 297–302 in Sylvia Ferino-Pagden, ed., *Arcimboldo 1526–1593* (Vienna, 2008). Here, p. 301. See also *ibid*., Manfred Staudinger, "Quellen zur Arcimboldo am Habsburger Hof," pp. 303–309. Adam Swetkowyz to Ferdinand, Vienna, 29 March, 1563 (p. 303).

[33] See, for example, King Maximilian's order to Queen María's High Chamberlain Francisco Lasso dated Vienna, 24 March, 1564 instructing him to assist Maximilian's court officials in obtaining apartments in Wiener Neustadt: A.R. von Perger, ed., "Auszug aus König Maximilians II. Copeybuch vom Jahre 1564," *Archiv für Kunde*

Vienna was on. The construction project across from the Vienna castle was turned into a large stable complex with an arcaded courtyard very similar to the one which Elizabeth and her family had seen in Stuttgart. This complex would eventually become known as the *Stallburg*. The new emperor would no longer need to stable his horses outside of town. Indeed, Elizabeth's father quickly laid out an exercise ground for his steeds inside the city walls not far from the castle chapel.[34]

Emperor Maximilian's love of exotic animals, horses and hunting was well known to the local populace as he took up residence in the imperial residence, Vienna. In November, 1564, just a few months after Maximilian's accession, the aging Imperial Vice Chancellor Seld reported to the duke of Bavaria that popular verses criticizing Elizabeth's father were circulating in the city. Anxiety there was clearly on the rise as reports of defeats on the eastern front came in. Even the old chancellor felt that the new emperor was not taking his responsibilities seriously enough and was away too often hunting. Viennese were circulating the rhyme, "while the emperor and Archduke Karl capture boar, the numbers of people and lands the Transylvanian captures soar."[35]

Maximilian would soon order the construction of a hunting getaway in the Prater preserve across the river from the city, continuing his father's construction and clearing there.[36] Buying up properties from cash-strapped monasteries and convents such as Vienna's Saint Agnes Cloister which were suffering under the two rulers' tax policies drawn up to help fund the Hungarian wars, Ferdinand and now Maximilian were fencing in hunting parks and building private Summer houses while word and rumor of Transylvanian and even Ottoman troop

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österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen 31 (1864), pp. 193–272. Here, p. 209, Nr. 64. Apparently some of the money used by the court was borrowed from the Wiener Neustadt authorities. See the debt certificate for 2,500 guilders borrowed for six months with 8% interest dated Vienna, 20 May, 1564 and made out to Hanns Menner, the city *Cämmerer*. Another such certificate, for 4,000 guilders over three months at 5% interest, was made out to the widow of Anthonin von Stampfen, revealing the role of widows' capital in funding court activities (p. 228, Nr. 153). Two weeks earlier, Maximilian had ordered government officials in Wiener Neustadt to pay various artisans for work conducted there on behalf of Queen María: Order from Maximilian to *Landtmaister in der Neustatt*, Vienna, 3 May, 1564 (p. 224, Nr. 142).

[34] Kühnel, *Hofburg* (1971), pp. 39–41.

[35] "Der Kayser und ertzherzog Carl fahen schwein, der sibenbürger nimpt land und leutt ein." Quoted in Edel, *Kaiser und Kurpfalz*, p. 152.

[36] "Das Grüne Lusthaus," Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon Wien*, vol. 4, p. 118.

movements circulated in the capital.[37] The wetlands along the various arms of the Danube provided excellent opportunities to pursue game such as pheasants and deer.

For Elizabeth, the rather confused time following the death of her grandfather, marked as it was by the change in residence, funeral and mourning, war rumors, and personnel shifts, was undoubtedly an anxious one. Not long after the move to the Vienna castle, in early 1565, it must have become apparent that Empress María was pregnant again, too. Following the deaths of her brother Friedrich and sister Maria, this news may not have been too happy. It had been a long time since her little brother Wenzel, now four, had successfully negotiated the dangerous years of infancy and early childhood. The two next siblings did not make it so far. María had successfully overcome the difficulties and challenges of her twelve pregnancies to date, but with each passing year the aging empress had to deal with the weakening of her body as the possibilities of complications increased. María was now 37 years old. Elizabeth's grandmother Anna had died at 44 from complications from childbirth. Her grandmother Isabel had died at 36 from similar causes.

Money worries, as usual, plagued Empress María's court. She seemed to be always behind in repaying debts or in need of additional funds from government sources to supplement her designated incomes. In this, however, she was far from unique among her relatives and those who served her. María's financial difficulties in the period were at least partly the fault of her brother King Philip who was similarly behind in meeting his financial obligations to his sister. In Fall, 1564, she had to write to the Fugger bankers in Augsburg who had loaned her court money via her treasurer Pedro López de Orduña requesting an extension.[38] The empress wrote the Bohemian government on 2 November, 1564 ordering the payment of a debt as well.[39]

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[37] See also articles in *ibid*.: "Augarten," vol. 1, pp. 188–189; "Favorita," vol. 2, p. 261; "Fugbach," vol. 2, p. 432; "Hauptallee," vol. 3, p. 79; "Jägerzeile," vol. 3, pp. 332–333; "Prater," vol. 4, p. 592; "Praterstern," vol. 4, p. 595.

[38] Request dated Vienna, 7 Oct., 1564. Perger, "Auszug," pp. 251–251, Nr. 248. The amount noted was 4,500 guilders and María was requesting an extension until December. In 1560, López de Orduña was listed as Queen María's official responsible for her jewelry (*Guardajoyas*). See Martínez Millán and Fernández Conti, *Monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 701. His role in financial negotiations and his designation as treasurer (*Pfennigmeister*) in this 1564 document shows the significant relationship between women's jewels and general financial issues. For more on López de Orduña, see Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 257.

[39] María to Bohemian *Landschreiber*. Order dated Vienna., Perger, "Auszug," pp. 257–258, Nr. 302. In general, the records from 1564 published by Perger reveal the

Elizabeth's education and the immediate staff surrounding her would have changed somewhat as she moved from the institutional establishments of Wiener Neustadt Diocese to the rather convoluted ones in Vienna with that city's various imperial, royal, and provincial officials, court chaplains, castle parish staff, and diocesan administrators. There was also some shifting as the old, more Spanish-influenced courtiers had to grudgingly make way for some men from Maximilian's more Austrian-oriented court. Her father's establishment was moved out of its temporary location over in the Augustinian hermits' buildings into the expanded *Hofburg* proper, where the renovations undertaken along the east wing were coming to an end.

Elizabeth's brothers lived in apartments separate from the women's quarters and were given a new tutor, the Tyrolean cleric Nicolaus de Coret, who had previously been in service to Elizabeth's young uncle, Karl. At the end of 1566, the archdukes' governor, the Carinthian Moritz Rumpf, who had been one of Emperor Ferdinand's courtiers, was replaced by the one-time diplomat Busbecq who would hold related positions in the archducal courts for the next decade.[40]

At least one lady-in-waiting associated with María's court, María Magdalena Ciunga, took her leave at this time, but this was part of normal operations: the young women in service normally did not make a career of it. Significantly, Ciunga was reportedly going back to Spain; her four crates of belongings were sent after her.[41] Probably the most important staff change for the emperor's household and the one which would have had the most potential impact on Archduchess Elizabeth was the selection of the fifty-year-old Baron Leonard IV von Harrach as the court's new chief officer, the *Obersthofmeister*. This was the official ultimately responsible to Maximilian for the functioning of all three of the Vienna sub-courts (Maximilian's, María's, and the four princes'—the two princesses' small separate staff was a sub-unit

important financial roles of the Silesian cameral authorities, the customs office at Magyaróvár, the Moravian governor, and the Bohemian beer tax in this period.

[40] Noflatscher, *Maximilian III.*, pp. 39–41.

[41] Duty-free declaration for Ciunga's four containers of *"irn aigen sachen vnnd Plunder."* Dated Vienna, 4 July, 1564. Perger, "Auszug," pp. 235–236. Things must have been busy at María's court during this transition: her husband Emperor Maximilian wrote a letter to the city authorities upstream in the city of Passau, capital of a prince-bishopric and seat of the bishop who had jurisdiction over much of the two Danubian territories he held, concerning the affairs of María's cook Hanns Francoys who was unable to get away from court to attend to some of his wife's affairs in the city. Letter dated 8 Sept., 1564 (p. 238).

of María's establishment). After the death of Emperor Ferdinand's previous *Obersthofmeister* Christoph Baron Eitzingen in July, 1563, the office had been administered by the Privy Councilor Johann Trautson the Younger, Baron of Sprechenstein.

Now, precedence disputes and jockeying for position broke out between the two barons, Harrach and Trautson.[42] The younger, Harrach, was of the opinion that the *Obersthofmeister*, as the highest court official, should have precedence even before his predecessor Trautson, who served as Chairman of the Privy Council and Lord High Marshall. By 1567, Trautson would prevail: he was named *Obersthofmeister* after Harrach resigned the position.[43] The transition from the court of Elizabeth's grandfather to that of her father was contentious and continuing.

The clerical establishment went through some changes as well. Although the Dominican friar Matthias Esche of Cittard remained on staff as one of the court preachers, the big change was at the level of the bishop. Already back in February, 1564, before the death of Emperor Ferdinand, Bishop Antonín Brus had resigned his position in Vienna in favor of the more prestigious and closer-to-home archiepiscopal throne in Prague. Bishop Urban Sagstetter of Gurk had accepted the none-too-easy post of administrator of the Vienna diocese, agreeing to serve as a court preacher, too. He was a favorite of both the late emperor and the new one, had served as a counselor to both, and had shown his administrative skills in a stint as governor of Styria. He

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[42] For more on the two men, see Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte und Berater," pp. 298–299, 302. Maximilian would rely heavily on Trautson for advice, as had Emperor Ferdinand in his final years. Trautson's main area of competence, domestic affairs, and his ties to the southern reaches of the Habsburgs' holdings, meant that issues relating to the Empire were sometimes given lower priority.

[43] A temporary compromise between Harrach and Trautson was signed on 16 March, 1565. For the shifting assignment to this position, see Fellner and Kretschmayer, *Zentralverwaltung*, p. 275 and Menčik, "Beiträge," pp. 452–454. The Privy Council, which normally consisted of between four and six men who met with the emperor daily, included the Chancellor, often a non-noble jurist who ran much of the administration. Archduchess Elizabeth and her mother's court would have had little to do with the chancellors or even most of the work of the councils. (There were two other important councils active in the period: the Aulic Council and the War Council.) The complicated transition and bureaucratic structure which marked the imperial court in the late 1560's is revealed also by the simultaneous presence of two chancellors, Dr. Johann Baptista Weber and Dr. Johann Ulrich Zasius, as well as by the continued attempts to define the specific limits of the Imperial Chancellery. Fellner and Kretschmayer, *Zentralverwaltung*, pp. 143–145, 280. See also Lothar Gross, *Die Geschichte der Deutschen Reichshofkanzlei von 1559 bis 1806* (Vienna, 1933), pp. 18–22.

delivered one of the many memorial sermons following the death of Emperor Ferdinand, this one held near Saint Mary Magdalena Chapel in the cemetery next to the cathedral.[44]

While the bishop-administrator would probably have been a rather distant figure for the ten-year-old archduchess Elizabeth, a number of the chapel officials assigned to the castle and the courts were more closely connected to her daily life. These included the new Head Court Chaplain (*Obrist-Hofkaplan*) Andreas Dudith who took office late in 1563 after serving with distinction at the Council of Trent. A Hungarian prelate with ties to Humanists across Europe, he held the title of secretary to the chancellor of that kingdom and was called to the Imperial Council. His nominal see was the diocese of Pécs, deep in the heart of Ottoman Hungary, but he seems to have spent a lot of his time on diplomatic business for the crown. Due to the Hungarian wars, the seat of the bishops of Pécs had been moved temporarily to Bratislava. Dudith optimistically relocated it to Szigetvár.[45]

Dudith was particularly connected to diplomatic affairs with the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Principality of Lithuania. He would become intimately connected with things there as he was delegated the diplomat responsible for negotiations with the Polish king Sigismund II "Augustus" concerning the return of his sickly wife, Elizabeth's aunt Katharina, the dowager duchess of Mantua. Possibly ill with fallopian tuberculosis, or perhaps epilepsy, Katharina was exiled from the king's side in Winter, 1562–1563 after it became clear that she was barren. She was living with a small queen's court in the old Polish royal residence city of Radom.[46] Dudith visited her there in June, 1565 and reported to Emperor Maximilian that his sister was living in miserable conditions.[47] Negotiations would drag on concerning the fate of the unhappy Katharina.[48] Archduchess Elizabeth undoubtedly learned of the difficult situation facing a queen who could not bear children.

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[44] Kopallik, *Regesten*, vol. 2, p. 115.

[45] King Ferdinand's nomination of Dudith to Pécs was not confirmed by the papacy until February, 1565. At Trent he had often advocated positions at odds with the official papal line. Pierre Costil, *André Dudith, humaniste hongrois* (Paris, 1935), pp. 118–121.

[46] Fichtner, "Community of Illness," pp. 211–212. Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 236–237 for the theory concerning epilepsy.

[47] Costil, *Dudith*, p. 122.

[48] Dudith wrote his acquaintance from the council at Trent, Commendone, on 5 Nov., 1565 concerning these negotiations: "Questo negocio mi pare propio la fatica d'Hercole con le teste dell'hydra." Quoted in Costil, *Dudith*, p. 123.

Bishop Andreas repeatedly visited the repudiated Polish queen over the course of the next year and a half, striking up a relationship along the way with Regina Strass, one of Katharina's ladies-in-waiting. Apparently not a strong believer in clerical celibacy, Dudith married Strass, an undertaking which did not disqualify him from imperial service in Emperor Maximilian's eyes. Even after the bishop informed the emperor of his wedded state in April, 1567, Maximilian insisted that he stay on to negotiate the payment of the queen's pension.[49] The bishop followed the Polish court as it moved from Lublin to Vilnius and was involved in discussions concerning the succession to that kingdom's crown in addition to doggedly pursuing an honorable settlement for the Habsburg archduchess Katharina.

A failed queen

Queen Katharina returned to Austria in Fall, 1566, first living in Vienna and then, in October of the next year, moving on to her designated residence in the castle complex on a hill above the provincial capital of Linz.[50] Due to her Polish pension, this sister probably did not strain her brothers' financial resources. Her sympathetic sister-in-law, Empress María, helped decorate the exiled queen's apartments through a gift of a dozen painted gold and silver leather tapestries.[51] The queen lived at least for some of the time in Vienna in contact with María's court and her daughters Elizabeth and Anna, who now saw the downside of the "career" for which they were being prepared. Aunt Katharina had left for Mantua and then Poland before Elizabeth's birth, so when she showed up in Vienna in October, 1566, the twelve-year-old archduchess probably met her for the first time.

One can only imagine the image of Poland and Lithuania which the sickly aunt passed on to her nieces, and the feelings about the branch of the Jagiellon family ruling there which Katharina's treatment engendered. Queen Katharina's sister-in-law Isabelle Jagiellon had also

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[49] Costil, *Dudith*, pp. 125–128. Costil cites correspondence between Dudith, Emperor Maximilian, and Queen Katharina dating into early 1568.

[50] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 33.

[51] HHStA, Hofakten des Ministeriums der Inneren [MI] I C 4, "Verlassenschaft d. Königin Katharina v Polen," ff. 35–46: inventory of deceased queen's possessions which were shipped to Vienna after her death on 28 Feb., 1572. 55 chests, trunks, and barrels full of items were included in the shipment.

caused the Habsburgs trouble: as the crowned Queen of Hungary she had been consort to King Ferdinand's rival King John I, and then had ruled as regent over those parts of the kingdom loyal to her son "John II," the sometime pretender to the Crown of Saint Stephen who was currently making difficulties for the Habsburgs in Transylvania and dallying with the Ottoman sultans.[52]

Queen Katharina's estate records provide a glimpse into her life as well as her preparations for death. An inventory dated 20 March, 1560, for example, reveals that she had lost many of the belongings which she had brought into the marriage in 1553. This inventory apparently did not correspond with one dated Kraków, 8 August of that year.[53] An inventory of her silverware made on 15 January, 1571 was signed and sealed by the 38-year-old, who apparently expected the worse and survived only a little over a year afterwards. Death often came to the Habsburg women in these years of life: Elizabeth would die at 38.

The supervision of the silver closet was one of the most important responsibilities of the men at court. An officer was specifically designated to handle this duty. Silver represented one of the most fluid assets a noblewoman had. Like the church silver which was periodically requisitioned by the Habsburg rulers to cover short-term expenses, especially those arising from the warfare on the border, noblewomen's silver could quickly be converted into cash or credit.

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[52] Queen Isabelle of Hungary (born 1519) was the daughter of Queen Bona Sforza and King Sigismund I of Poland. She was crowned at Székesfehérvár, the traditional Hungarian royal coronation and burial site, in 1539. She ruled as queen only briefly because her husband died the following year. As queen dowager and sometime regent, she lived until 1559. She had turned the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen over to the Habsburgs in 1551 but because of her coronation with it in the sacred coronation site, possessed prestige in some ways greater than her successor on the Hungarian queens' throne, María, who was crowned in Bratislava. For the brief period of Isabelle's reign (1539–1540) there were two queens of Hungary to go with its two kings, and after Queen Anna's death in 1547 Isabelle was the kingdom's only resident queen (dowager) for over a decade. Her predecessor Mary lived until 1558, but resided in the Habsburgs' lands in the Low Countries and Spain.

[53] HHStA, Hofakten, MI, I C 4, ff. 479–481. Inventory signed and sealed by Katharina. Karl Vocelka discussed the preparations and conditions for the 1553 marriage in *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 99–102. He mentions the ten-page inventory of jewelry and clothes dated August and appends another list relating to the queen's possessions on pp. 159–161. A contemporary miniature portrait of the queen, probably in her last years in Linz, can be found in Heinz, "Porträtbuch," p. 211, Nr. 40 (with description on p. 220).

The daily life of the queen can also be glimpsed in the inventory of her possessions taken on 2 February, 1572. The role given to sewing materials, for example, reveals an important part of a noblewoman's life, and a craft which Archduchess Elizabeth undoubtedly learned early on. Her aunt Katharina owned "various beautiful little sewing chests with sewing materials," as well as "a variety of colors of Spanish, Turkish and Italian silk," and "some sewing cushions."[54] Her days in the Linz castle were surely spent in contemplation, perhaps looking out on the Danube River below, and embroidering with her fancy silk thread that reveals much about the trade patterns in luxury from which Katharina and her niece Elizabeth profited.

Some of the exiled queen's social world is also reflected in this evidence and seems representative of many women of her day and class. Apparently, she had been sent a number of commemorative coins from Maximilian's coronation in Frankfurt. In 1563, Maximilian had ordered some of this type of coins distributed to the Viennese boys assembled for his *entrée* into the city as King of the Romans. Katharina now bequeathed her coins to her brothers Maximilian (who was to get two), Ferdinand (her favorite, too? he received three), and Karl (who was to get only one). Karl had been born after Katharina left home to be married, so they had probably, like Elizabeth and Katharina, first met after she moved to Vienna seventeen years later.[55]

Katharina's two sisters in Hall received a gold crucifix with pearls and precious stones which she had been given by her brother-in-law, the duke of Bavaria. Her sister-in-law Empress María received a piece of jewelry which had been given Katharina by the duke of Finland. The string of pearls, a particularly significant gift which had been given her by her first husband, the late Duke Francis III of Mantua, was passed on to her sister Duchess Anna of Bavaria. Queen Katharina's female head of court, her *Obersthofmeisterin* Elisabeth von Bern, was to receive a gilded cup.[56] Her confessor and court preacher Martin Purgleitner (who also served as the city priest in Linz) was given a letter dated just two days before Katharina's death in which she com-

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[54] Nr. 8914: item 342: *"etliche schone naetrühelein mit neezeug"* item 349:*"allerlai farben Spanische, Türckhische und Wällische Seiden,"* item 351: *"etliche neeküss."* Voltelini, "Urkunden und Regesten," p. LXX.

[55] Voltelini, "Urkunden und Regesten," p. LXXIII.

[56] On these bequests, see Voltelini, "Urkunden und Regesten," Nr. 8914, item 355, p. LXX and her will dated Linz, 10 February, 1572: Nr. 8912, pp. LXII–LXIII.

mended the cleric to her brothers.[57] These were important parts of noblewomen's lives: writing letters of recommendation, weighing others' recommendations, and keeping track of the staff. Queen Katharina continued this important task into her final days.

It is unknown if all of the instructions listed in Archduchess Elizabeth's aunt Katharina's final will were followed. She had wanted to donate her preacher's vestments to the castle chapel in Linz, for example, and give money to various charitable institutions in the city such as the lazarett, the poor house, the quarantine house for plague victims, and the "sisters house" there.[58] One thing is certain: her request to be buried in Prague at the feet of her parents Queen Anne and Emperor Ferdinand was not met. Her remains were eventually transferred to the Augustinian canonry of Saint Florian located in the Traunviertel, a part of the province of the Land Beyond the Enns outside Linz.

It is reasonable to imagine that Empress María and her family visited her sick sister-in-law in Linz on a number of occasions in the late 1560's. They had stayed in the provincial capital more than once, at times of plague in Vienna or Wiener Neustadt, for example, or on the trips to Prague or Augsburg. The province of which Linz was the capital was one of the two Danubian territories granted María's husband in the family property division following her grandfather Ferdinand's death. Incomes from this "Land Beyond the Enns" would have made up a good portion of his disposable assets, particularly as they came in from the Danube River toll houses, the salt mines in the territory's mountain reaches, and even the excise taxes levied on the goods traded in the busy markets in Linz's squares.[59]

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[57] Copy of declaration by Katharina made by secretary Unversagt and dated Linz, 26 Feb., 1572. HHStA, HI, 4, ff. 51–52. Katharina explained that she had taken Purgleitner into her service after the death of her previous confessor, Dr. Wilhelm Sulanius. At Katharina's death, Purgleitner was only 20 years old. He would go on to a controversial career in parochial service in the "Land Beyond the Enns." His children would later be legitimized by Emperor Maximilian (perhaps in memory of his service to the emperor's late sister?) He died at the age of 28, eight years after his one-time sponsor Queen Katharina. Patrouch, *Negotiated Settlement*, p. 118.

[58] *"Schwester Hauß,"* Commissioners' report about Katharina's estate dated Linz, 22 May, 1572. HHStA, HI, 4, f. 63. This institution was to receive the largest single bequest, 800 *Thaler*. The vestments are mentioned in her will.

[59] For background on the province, see Joseph F. Patrouch, "Die Gegenreformation in Oberösterreich: Stichwörter und Konzepte," in Rudolf Leeb, Susanne Claudine Pils, and Thomas Winkelbauer, eds., *Staatsmacht und Seelenheil: Gegenreformation und Geheimprotestantismus in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 2007), pp. 367–375.

While discussions between his son Maximilian's representatives and those of King Sigismund over what to do with and how to adequately support Queen Katherina had been ongoing in the year immediately following Emperor Ferdinand's death, a representative of the abbey of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai appeared at the imperial court asking for assistance for this important religious foundation. According to the popular collection of saints' lives, the "Golden Legend," this abbey housed the saint's miraculous relics. Angels had shown the hermits living near the equally-famous "burning bush" on the mountain where the imperial princess Saint Catherine's body was to be found. Empress María wrote a letter to her brother's *mayordomo mayor*, the duke of Alba, recommending the monk Mercurio to the king.[60] The veneration of Saint Catherine of Alexandria was an important part of many girls' upbringing in the period. As patron of learning and students, she was also venerated by students at the university in Vienna.

Elizabeth's education

Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand, who had a major influence in the upbringing of his grandchildren, had known the Spanish writer Juan Luis Vives while the two of them had lived at Ferdinand's aunt Margarete's court in the Low Countries. Vives had dedicated his *Declamationes Quinque Syllanae* to the young Habsburg.[61] Christopher Laferl, in his study of the Spanish at the court of Ferdinand, analyzed the Spanish books in the Habsburgs' collection and pointed out that Vives' work *Una carta de Plutarcho que enseña a los casados como se han de aver en su biver* (published in Antwerp three years before Elizabeth's birth) was probably owned by the then-king.

It is not known whether or not Elizabeth and her older sister Anna read his work, but it seems likely that at least some of the pedagogical ideas of Vives inspired their mother and grandfather or others at her court. These writings can be examined to get some type of general impression of the contours of the education and upbringing which the two archduchesses received as girls in the late 1560's. Moving often

[60] Letter dated Vienna, 24 May, 1565. Díaz and López, *Epistolario de la emperatriz María*, pp. 160–161.
[61] Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 163.

between the Low Countries and England, Vives had been commissioned by Charles and Ferdinand's aunt Catalina, Queen of England, to write a book about the education of women. This book was first published in Antwerp in 1524 as *De institutione feminae Christianae*. Vives also published that year a small work outlining the education Queen Catalina's daughter Mary (Archduchess Elizabeth's future aunt) was to receive.[62] A revised edition was released in 1538 and many additional editions and numerous translations into various European vernaculars followed. The Italian translator Giovanni Giustuniani (Juan Justiniano) published the first Spanish translation in Valencia in 1528.[63] Seven more Spanish editions were to follow up to 1583, including one which appeared in Zaragoza in 1555.[64] In the work, Vives praises the learning and virtue of Elizabeth's great-grandmother Queen Juana of Spain, writing of her and her sisters, "…there have been no queens who were so loved and admired by their subjects."[65]

Divided into three sections, one on girls, one on wives, and one on widows, Vives' book provided practical advice buttressed by examples drawn largely from the writings of Classical authors and the Church fathers. These included tips on what type of stories young girls should be told and what type of toys they should be given, "[l]et her be edified by chaste tales, and take dolls away from her….I would be more in favor of those toys made of tin or lead that represent household objects…"[66] The toys could help development vocabulary, too, as the

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[62] For background on this text and author, see "Introduction: Prelude to the Other Voice in Vives," Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, Charles Fantazzi, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 2000), pp. 1–42. Although Laferl does not name this work as having been in the imperial library, he lists Vives' *Introduction a la sabiduría*…in a 1551 edition. Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 160–161. He also lists a large number of works by Fr. Antonio de Guevara, an author influenced by Vives (pp. 155–156). According to Charles Fantazzi, this influence was particularly marked in Guevara's *Epístolas familiares* of 1539. Vives, *Education*, pp. 32–33. The book was in the imperial collection in multiple editions, including one published in Antwerp in 1562. For later influence of this work on noblewomen's education in the Holy Roman Empire, see Maria von Katte,"Vives' Schriften in der Herzog August Bibliothek und ihre Bedeutung für die Prinzenerziehung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung* 3 (1981), pp. 193–210.

[63] This version was the basis for the modern Spanish edition of the book: *Instruccíon de la muger Christiana.* Juan Justiniano, trans., Elizabeth Teresa Howe, ed. (Madrid, 1995). Howe points out in the introduction that Giustiniani added some works to Vives' proposed list or recommended readings (p. 22).

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[65] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

names of the objects were learned. "Reading is the best occupation and I counsel it first of all," Vives wrote, but spinning and working wool were advocated as essential for keeping idle hands busy when a girl tires of reading.[67] The example of Archduchess Elizabeth's great-great grandmother Queen Isabella of Castile was given to back up this point. Isabella "wished her four daughters to be expert in spinning, sewing and needlepoint."[68] All four went on to become queens. Some familiarity with cooking was also advocated.

Insight into Elizabeth's education may be gleaned from Vives' chapter "Which Writers are to be Read and Which Not to be Read." Vernacular romances and tales, for example, are to be avoided. Titles listed include "Amadís," "Tristán," "Paris and Vienna," and the "Decameron." "All these books were written by idle, unoccupied, ignorant men, the slaves of vice and filth," Vives explained, they "…are written for those who have nothing to do…."[69] Having as they often did martial themes, such works were not appropriate, "[w]hat does a girl have to do with weapons, the very mention of which is unbecoming to her?"[70] Attending tournaments was therefore similarly forbidden because "…a young woman cannot easily be of chaste mind if her thoughts are occupied with the sword and sinewy muscles and virile strength."[71]

Approximately five times more space is devoted in this chapter to which books are prohibited than to which are recommended. (The recommendations comprise only two of the seven points listed.) Generally speaking, girls "…must read and hear things that will elevate their minds to God, compose their feelings in a Christian tranquility, and improve their morals."[72] In addition to the Gospels, Acts, and the Epistles, and "the historical and moral books of the Old Testament," Vives listed authors such as Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Boethius, Plato, Cicero, and Seneca.[73] In a passage that might help to illuminate Elizabeth's daily life, he wrote, "…[i]t is an excellent practice before going out to hear Mass to read the Gospel and Epistle of that day at home and a commentary, if you have one."[74] If a girl was not able to

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 61.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 73.
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 73.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*, p. 79.
[73] *Ibid.*, p. 78.
[74] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

read, she was to listen to these being read aloud. Proper behavior will also be learned," [t]he young woman will learn of the virtues of her sex from books she will read or hear read to her," Vives explained.[75]

The principal female virtue that Elizabeth was to learn was chastity, "the queen of female virtues," as Vives described it.[76] The route to this lesson was a contemplation of the lives and actions of famous women from the past, particularly the popular and oft-venerated virgin martyrs, some of whom Elizabeth had seen depicted so prominently at her residence in Wiener Neustadt. These included Saints Agnes, Catherine, Agatha, Barbara, Margaret, Dorothea, and Ursula with the 11,000 Virgins, "…those women who readily and willingly allowed themselves to have their throats cut, be slain, dismembered, suffocated, drowned, cut to pieces, burned alive…"[77] Saint Agnes, the patron of chastity, was described in her legend as a Roman maiden of 12 or 13 at the time of her martyrdom. She could stand as a particularly vivid role model for Elizabeth in 1566 or 1567 when she was the same age.

The way to protect one's chastity was to abstain from the company of men as much as possible. According to Vives, girls and young women "…should be kept at home, should stay out of public, except for attendance at sacred offices, and be well covered, separated from the view of men."[78] "[I]t is best to have as little contact with men as possible; few words are to be exchanged with them," Vives instructed.[79] This prohibition extended even to Elizabeth's brothers after they had been taken from the care of women. As Vives enjoined, "[i]t is not to be permitted that a young woman and a man should converse alone anywhere for any length of time, not even if they are brother and sister."[80] The role of siblings in general in a girl's life seems to be problematic: in Vives' chapter "On the Love Befitting a Virgin," he mentions loving God, Christ, the Virgin, (who is described as the girl's "sister,") the Church, the Holy Virgins, one's own soul and one's parents, but does

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 87.
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 118.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 123. By following the Virgin, a girl would prefer to be counted among the "flock" of these martyrs (p. 154).
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

not mention sisters or brothers.[81] How was Elizabeth to relate to her sister Anna and her six brothers?

Much of Elizabeth's life would have been spent sequestered away in the women's rooms. There in the women's court, however, the women in service were threats. According to Vives, "[c]ourtly dames they are indeed, judging from the courts of our day, begetters of every vice, the abode of Satan…" because they are "constantly in view and engaged with many people." They have "prostituted themselves to men in mind if not in body."[82] Girls and young women were to avoid as much as possible banquets, weddings, gatherings where many men congregated, and dances. Vives dedicated an entire chapter to the vices associated with dancing.

Of course, the strictures outlined by the scholar Vives conflicted in many ways with the courtly life in which Archduchess Elizabeth was ensconced, particularly after the death of her grandfather in 1564 and the move back to the imperial capital of Vienna. Elizabeth did go out in public; she did observe tournaments; she did attend banquets and dances. These, however, were special occasions, not her daily routine. The touch of the "forbidden fruit" associated with such activities may have flavored the young girl's experience of them. The suspicions of the court reflected in Vives' treatise called into question much of Elizabeth's everyday life. She could not avoid the suspect ladies-in-waiting that attended her, her sister, and her mother! The ideal presented by Vives was an ideal which could have only been approximated in the *Hofburg*.

A girl reading *The Education of a Christian Woman* would by its very structure be reminded of the centrality of marriage in contemporary conceptions of womanhood. His section on maidens ends with a chapter titled, "On Seeking a Spouse." The centerpiece of the book is the section on being a wife, and then the third section, on widowhood, is obviously defined by reference to one's earlier married state. At least in this treatise, the religious life is not promoted. Written as it was for a queen's daughter, it shows how the married life was such a woman's presumed future. Elizabeth's aunts in Hall with their religious foundation were taking a different path. When describing marriage at the end of the first part of his book, Vives describes what each partner was to

[81] *Ibid.*, p. 153.
[82] *Ibid.*, p. 130.

contribute: "[t]he woman brings one thing, namely, womanly virtues and the ability to bring forth children, and the man's contribution is to provide sustenance."[83]

A second sixteenth-century writer whose ideas concerning women and marriage seem to have had some sway in Spanish court circles as well as in the Vienna of Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand was Antonio de Guevara (1480–1545?), a one-time preacher and counselor to her other grandfather Charles. The writings of this bishop of Mondoñedo were popular throughout the sixteenth century. The Austrian National Library now has at least eight works of his whose acquisition probably date from Ferdinand's reign, indicating interest in the Danubian metropolis in Guevara's ideas.[84] One of them, *Epístolas familiares*, published in Valladolid in 1539, contained many letters containing advice to husbands and rules for women. One theme was that a woman should be quiet. As a 1577 English translation put it, "[t]he grave woman of authoritie ought not to care to be skilfull of talke and newes, but to be honest and silent."[85] In a section titled "That the woman be verie shamefast, and no babbler or ful of talke," Guerara went on, "[l]et everyman saye what he will, but for my part I do firmely believe, that in a woman of a bashful countenance there be fewe things to bee reprehended, and in her that is otherwise, there wanteth all things wherefore to be praysed."[86]

International contexts

While Elizabeth was studying, praying, sewing, and thinking in the women's apartments in Vienna Castle with her sister and pregnant mother, events elsewhere in Europe took threatening and dangerous turns. Many of the continent's Protestants, of whatever denomination, were unsettled by reports of the meeting between the dowager queen and regent of France, Catherine de Medici, with her daughter, Elizabeth's aunt Queen Elisabeth of Spain, which took place on the borders between those two kingdoms in the last two weeks of June,

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[84] Laferl, *Kultur*, pp. 155–156.
[85] Antonio de Guevara, *The Familiar Epistles*, Edward Hellowes, trans. (London, 1577), p. 300.
[86] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

1565. Was a Catholic alliance being discussed by which the decisions of the recently-completed Council of Trent were to be enforced? Ever since the death of the French king Henry six years earlier, there had been signs of a warming between the French and Spanish crowns, a warming evidenced by the Valois-Habsburg marriage alliance.[87] Stories of a *rapprochement* were contradicted to some extent by reports of French incursions into Habsburg overseas territories, especially in the Caribbean and on the Florida peninsula, incursions which in their turn made the Habsburgs nervous about a potential rival in their rich American lands or at least along the trade routes to and from them.[88]

In Vienna that Summer an increasingly belligerent Ottoman Empire with its ally the Transylvanian ruler and royal pretender John meant that the eastern front was even more on people's minds than distant Florida, or even the queens' meeting in southern France. In May, the Knights of Saint John stationed at their important island outpost in Malta reported that Ottoman besiegers had appeared. A quarter of a century before, Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Charles had charged the knights with the defense of the fortress island as part of his campaigns in Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria. The knights were to serve as the forward defense system for the Habsburg Viceroyalty of Naples which was perilously exposed to Ottoman naval incursions. Now, the knights' island was invested. All Christian Europe followed the dramatic course of events in the central Mediterranean. The scattered, often poverty-stricken houses of the knights in central Europe suddenly took on new meaning. They became closely associated with Malta and a newly-invigorated mission, one which would also serve to similarly reinvigorate their knightly, crusading brethren, the Teutonic Knights.

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[87] This meeting was the subject of much discussion in the diplomatic correspondence from Spain: Edelmayer, *Korrespondenz*, Vol. 1, p. 124. For the general context see Monique Weis, "La peur du grand complot catholique. La diplomatie espagnole face aux soupçons des protestants allemands (1560–1570)," *Francia Frühe Neuzeit* 32/2 (2005), pp. 15–30. Here, p. 17.

[88] The imperial ambassador in Madrid, Empress María's one-time Master of the Horse Dietrichstein, reported on 28 Feb., 1566 that news of the French defeat in Florida had reached the Spanish court. Koch, *Quellen*, p. 155. For general background, see Kenneth R. C. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder, 1530–1630* (New Haven, CT, 1978). In his instructions to his new legate to the imperial court, Luis Venegas de Figueroa, given the next year, King Philip discussed how the French were not to be trusted, according to Dietrichstein. The king pointed to the fact that, even though he was married to the king's sister, that had not stopped the French from their attempts to interfere in *La Florida*. Dietrichstein to Maximilian, Aranjuez, 18 May, 1567.

A bit closer to home, the Transylvanian assaults on Satu Mare the previous year had led to a Winter counter-offensive by Habsburg troops under the command of Lazarus von Schwendi, an experienced war leader from Swabia who had served both of Elizabeth's grandfathers before accepting command of the forces in eastern Slovakia.[89] The success of this counter-offensive, which included the capture of the important fortress at Tokaj, led the Transylvanian leaders in Alba Iulia to extend peace feelers to Vienna and the leaders in Constantinople to seriously consider coming to the aid of their pressed erstwhile tributary. By late April, 1565, negotiators representing "King John" and led by Stephen Báthory were in Vienna. Báthory was arrested for his troubles and imprisoned for the next two years.[90] All the while, Habsburg diplomats shuttled back and forth between Vienna and the Ottoman capital on the Golden Horn trying to assure the sultan and his representatives of the limited nature of the Habsburgs' aspirations in eastern Hungary, buying time for defensive and political preparations. The walls of the key defensive positions at Györ in western Hungary on the approaches to Vienna, for example, were largely completed by this time, using the latest Italian designs.[91]

Archduchess Elizabeth would have heard of the tides of war to the east while in her residence in Vienna. The general population in the city also followed the events on the frontier with interest. The Viennese printer Michael Zimmerman published inexpensive pamphlets keeping them up to date.[92] Such pamphlets were published in other cities across the Empire, too. One printed in Augsburg that year was illustrated with a gruesome woodcut depicting imperial troops executing "rebels and recalcitrants" who had supported the rival royal claimant,

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[89] For background on this important general and counselor: Rudolf Krone, "Lazarus von Schwendi, 1522–1584. Kaiserliche General und Geheimer Rat. Seine kirchenpolitische Tätigkeit und sein Stellung zur Reformation," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* 29 (1912), pp. 125–167.

[90] Lukinish, "jeunesse," pp. 30–33.

[91] Lajos Gecsényi, "Ungarische Städte um Vorfeld der Türkenabwehr Österreichs," pp. 59–77 in Elisabeth Springer and Leopold Kammerhofer, eds., *Archiv und Forschung: Das Haus-, Hof und Staatsarchiv in seiner Bedeutung für die Geschichte Österreichs und Europas* (Vienna, 1993). Here, p. 67.

[92] See for example, *Zeittung von der Rö. Khay. Mt. etc. Khriegssvolckh in Zips/ und was dasselb ain zeit herumb gegen Irer Mt. u. widerwertige außgericht* (Vienna: Zimmermann, 1565) listed in Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 3, p. 785 (Nr. H 2331). The cover illustration is reproduced on p. 784 and looks remarkably like depictions of the 1560 Vienna festival's storming of a river fortress.

reminding the people in Augsburg and elsewhere of the consequences of not supporting the Habsburg cause.[93] Underlining the administrative and financial importance of the Habsburgs' territories in this theater of war in today's eastern Slovakia, northern Hungary, southern Ukraine, and northern Romania, the Vienna authorities reorganized their bureaucracy that Fall to headquarters in an office in the city of Košice.[94]

Elizabeth grew up in a world where the threat—real or imagined—of the Ottomans was often present. Warfare to the east was sporadic but consistent, with ebbs and flows, but always with consequences. Men, women, and children were caught in the crossfire, often captured, sometimes enslaved, at least held for ransom. Images of bloodthirsty "Turks" intent on mayhem helped to justify the massive tax burdens for the upkeep of the elaborate border fortification system which was being organized and constructed, as well as the campaigns in the east against the Transylvanian competitors to the Hungarian throne. Elizabeth definitely saw images of "Turks" depicted in the various court entertainments she attended. She may well have seen popular broadsheets and pamphlets which were displayed and circulated in the cities of her youth.

One such publication which had appeared in 1557 when Elizabeth was three years old showed on its cover turbaned Ottoman troops impaling little children. A cavalryman carries a naked small child on his pike, pierced through the middle. Another Ottoman soldier stands to the right hacking children into pieces with his sword. A decapitated little body lies at his feet as he holds another child by the leg, arm raised for the fatal blow. In the background, a third soldier stands up

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[93] The cover is reproduced in Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 3, p. 747 (Nr. H 2219): *Warhafftige Grundtliche beschreibung/ Was der Rom. Kay. May. Unsers Aller genedigsten Herrn General/ vnd Feldhauptman inn Zips/ Herren Lazarum vonn Schwendi/ nach Eroberung der Vestin Tockai/ vnd ettliche mer Schlösser/ Ferrers wider Ire Rebellen und Widerspennnige gehandelt und furgenommen seu worden* (Augsburg: Hanns Zimmerman, [1565]). This illustration was a popular one for Zimmermann: he would use it again the next year on pamphlets printed in Augsburg depicting the course of the war: see Nr. 1487 on p. 503 and Nr. 1467 on p. 496. For another account of Schwendi's astonishingly successful campaigns, see vol. 2, p. 504 (Nr. H 1491): 3 leaves, published in Nuremberg by Valentin Geyßler.

[94] Fellner and Kretschmayr, *Zentralverwaltung*, p. 78. Géza Pálffy estimates that by the middle of the century, over a quarter of the Hungarian kingdom's incomes were administered by the officers in Košice, over 40% were under the control of the Lower Austrian financial offices in Vienna (including the incomes from the important tolls offices in Bratislava and Magyaróvár), and only about a third were collected under the supervision of the royal financial chamber in Bratislava. Pálffy, "Wiener Hof," p. 374.

a sharpened stake with a baby boy hanging on it. Another baby hangs already impaled on a post next to him.[95]

Such horrific images would be part of children's education in mid-sixteenth century Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. It is hard to imagine that they did not also at times reach the eyes or the imagination of the princesses in the castles in those cities. The title of a longer, non-illustrated pamphlet published Strasburg in 1558 gives the tenor of the prose accounts of actions on the eastern front: *Turkish Booklet: Entirely True but Sorrowful Description of the pain, torture, injuries and tyranny that the Turks commit to captured Christians, including man and woman, boy and girl particularly by the present ruling tyrants…*[96] A four-leaf news pamphlet from two years before had proclaimed, "How ours again defeated the bloodhound of all Christendom in a number of skirmishes with the help of God's grace…."[97] Elizabeth would have been taught that the Ottoman armies were a scourge and that a victory over them could be read as signs of God's support. Contemporary events for the young archduchess were clearly placed in a wider religious context where God's judgment could be divined by reference to the course of current events.

The news was confused and confusing from eastern Hungary and the Mediterranean in the summer of 1565, so it may have been difficult for the archduchess to keep track of God's will. At times it seemed as though General Schwendi would sweep the supporters of "King John" from the field, but at other times the enemy troops, supported to some extent by Ottoman forces stationed nearby, were victorious. For example, Baia Mare and Ardud switched hands more than once.[98]

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[95] *Newe Zeittunge: Auß dem Landt zu Hungern/ Was sich zwischen der Röm. König, Mayestat Kriegsvolck/ Und den Blütgierigen Türcken/ begeben und zügetragen hat…* (n.p. 1557). Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 3, p. 500 (Nr. H 1482).

[96] *Türcken Büchlin. Gantz warhaftige unnd aber erbärmkliche beschreibung/ von der pein/ marter/ schmertzen vnnd tyranny/ so die Türcken/ den gefanngnen Christen/ beyd mann und weib/ knaben und mägelin/ un sonderlich bey jetzt Regierenden Türckischen Tyrannen/ ihnen anlagen…* Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 1, p. 217 (Nr. H 640).

[97] *Newe Zeitunge aus Hungern/ Wie abermals die unsern durch mithülffe Göttlicher Gnaden/ dem Bluthunde der ganzen Christenheit/ in etlichen Scharmüzeln obgesieget/…* (Erfurt: Gervasius Stürmer, 1556). Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 2, p. 503 (Nr. H 1486). The cover illustration shows a large God-like figure assisting in the battle, together with another one watching from the clouds (p. 502). The account of the battle is included with an account of two earthquakes which hit the Ottomans' lands, further underlining God's support for the Christians in this struggle.

[98] Reports in August of the massacre of the imperial troops at Ardud served to inflame the situation further. See Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 298, note 5: reference to a report of the Venetian ambassador dated 18 Aug., 1565.

Schwendi aggressively moved toward Mukačevo in the fall, provoking the authorities in Constantinople further. The Imperial War Council meeting in Vienna, Elizabeth's uncles Ferdinand and Albrecht, and even the papal nuntio Zaccaria Delfino, all counseled caution, but her father seemed willing to gamble, refusing to pay the overdue tribute earlier treaties had promised.[99] The Venetian ambassador reported on 22 September that there were imperial cavalry units on the move around Vienna, but that these had halted at Bratislava pending word of the outcome of peace negotiations.[100]

The news of the Knights of Saint John's successful defense of their stronghold of Malta reached Vienna in late September, almost the same day as the birth of Elizabeth's latest sibling, a boy christened Karl, perhaps after his grandfather, that earlier crusader against the Ottomans, or after his uncle, who was now 25 years old and being given increased responsibilities in military affairs. (Given the exposed nature of his holdings in the southeast stretches of the Habsburgs' lands, this increased responsibility was almost inevitable.) The celebrations around the birth of the seventh (surviving) son of Empress María and Emperor Maximilian could be combined with the military news that seemed to indicate that things were looking up in the ongoing wars with the Ottoman Empire.

There was a downside to this military development, however. Now that the naval adventure in the middle Mediterranean was over, the sultan and his generals could afford to marshal their resources for a push against the upstart and, from their perspective, treacherous Habsburgs in Hungary. Troops had already been moved into Schwendi's theater of operations from the Ottomans' Wallachian and Moldavian bases nearby, and further reinforcements were to be expected. To avoid being overextended and cut off, Schwendi was ordered to pull back to Winter quarters in Košice.

After the empress had successfully delivered her son Karl, preparations could be undertaken to move the court, this time to the key cities of Linz and Augsburg where assemblies of notables were planned, a

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[99] The international situation is well outlined in Dietmar Heil and Maximilian Lanzinner, eds., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Reichsversammlungen 1556–1662. Der Reichstag zu Augsburg 1566* (Munich, 2002), vol. 1, pp. 98–104: "Der Weg in den Krieg 1565/66."

[100] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 302, note 3.

provincial assembly (*Landtag*) in the former and an Imperial Assembly in the latter. These notables' financial, political, and military support was needed for the upcoming military showdown with the Ottomans' legions which everyone expected and which Emperor Maximilian, perhaps based on General Schwendi's recent successes, thought could turn out well.

Pope Pius had sent a new nuntio to replace the familiar Delfino, so the face of the papacy with which Archduchess Elizabeth had become familiar over the course of the last half of a decade was changing. The new man, Melchiorre Biglia, came from the northern Italian circles of the prince-bishop of Trent Cristoforo Madruzzo and the ardent reforming archbishop of Milan, Carlos Borromeo.[101] In his mid-fifties, Biglia was posted to the imperial court for the remainder of the decade and faced the unpleasant challenge of having to serve as the intermediary between an increasingly-reformed and reforming papal court and administration and the less-than-orthodox milieu around Elizabeth's father.[102] Her mother's court could play a key role in this mediation, and it seems that Biglia eventually recognized that fact. Rituals and the ecclesiastical calendar could also assist in the process of representing Tridentine Catholicism north of the Alps.

In October, 1565, one of Biglia's first items of business to negotiate concerned the messy situation of Elizabeth's aunt Katharina in Poland: Pope Pius did not seem amenable to the emperor's request for a divorce for his sister.[103] The Venetian ambassador in Vienna reported that even though Biglia had not brought papal permission for a divorce, he had brought 25,000 ducats with him to support the war effort.[104] The ducats undoubtedly made the pope's intransigence on the divorce front more palatable to the emperor. Maximilian would need all the help he could muster.

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[101] *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1968), vol. 10, pp. 418–419. Madruzzo, who had officiated at Elizabeth's parents' wedding, will be discussed further in the following chapter.

[102] For case studies concerning some of the intellectuals active at this court, see Louthan, *Quest for Compromise*.

[103] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 306, note 6: the Venetian ambassador Contarini reported on 26 Oct., 1565 that the pope did not agree with this request.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 303, note 3 citing Contarini report dated 20 Oct., 1565.

On the road again

On 17 December, 1565, Empress María, Elizabeth, her sister Anna, and Emperor Maximilian, together with the hundreds and hundreds of functionaries, staff, and servants associated with the imperial court, left Vienna for another journey into the Empire outside of the Habsburgs' lands. The five little archdukes were left behind, the youngest, Karl, with his wet nurse and swaddled. This trip would last a half a year and would take the two young archduchesses into now-familiar cities: first Linz, then Augsburg. In between they would get to visit the exciting home of their aunt Anna and uncle Albrecht, Munich. The ducal couple was busy transforming it into a residence city to rival the princely residence cities Elizabeth had visited three years before, Heidelberg and Stuttgart.

The trip up the Danube Valley from Vienna to Linz was slow and probably somber, the Advent season notwithstanding. Not only were the losses on the Hungarian front on people's minds, but the news of the death of Pope Pius on 9 December meant that at least some of the Christians in the traveling party and along its route were mourning. This pope's six-year reign had generally been a good one for the Habsburgs: the council meeting in Trent had been brought to a conclusion which, if not satisfying, was at least final. Elizabeth's newlywed aunts down south in Italy undoubtedly suffered more from the consequences of the pope's passing: as discussed previously, their wedding celebrations were curtailed.

The imperial court's Christmas was spent in Linz Castle. It is not possible to know how much Archduchess Elizabeth thought of her late baby brother Friedrich who had been born there while she and the court prepared for the journey to Prague and Frankfurt three and a half years before. Did she think of her three-month-old brother Karl back in Vienna, or of her dead little sister Maria at whose baptism she had played so important a role in Wiener Neustadt the year before? With so much emphasis on the birth of a baby in the liturgical and popular celebrations around Christmas, it is difficult to imagine that the eleven-and-a-half-year-old princess did not at least offer a prayer on behalf of her little siblings. She probably remembered her other brothers in Vienna and her two older brothers off in Spain in her prayers as well.

The empress and the archduchess had little to do with the intense negotiations which occurred in the following days between the hard-

nosed representatives of the Land Beyond the Enns' assembly and their lord, Emperor Maximilian.[105] This province was rich and important—and the representatives assembled in Linz who wielded power there knew it. Most of them were Protestants of various shades who wanted religious concessions along the lines of those given over a decade before to their co-religionists in the Empire outside of the Habsburg rulers' territories. Due to his father's death the year before, Maximilian had never been able to formally accept the homage of the estates' representatives in this area, so on 28 December this important ceremony recognizing Elizabeth's father as ruler and installing the provincial officers was held. Throughout the negotiations, Emperor Maximilian had to be careful to seem accommodating, and to stress the threat the enemy on the Empire's border represented.

The second set of negotiations which took place in Linz those cold December and January days was between the three brothers: Elizabeth's father Maximilian and uncles Ferdinand and Karl. Now, their father was buried in Prague. Their sisters were settled as well. It was time to finally agree on the division of the family's assets and debts. Elizabeth's father and two uncles signed an agreement on 6 January, 1566 which allowed each of the brothers to go their separate ways.[106] Soon, Archduke Ferdinand was to head west to Innsbruck with his wife Philippine and their young sons Andreas (seven) and Karl (six), and Archduke Karl, after a stay in Vienna as Maximilian's representative in his absence, was to go south to Graz (although marriage prospects for him were still good: he might end up out west in London!) Emperor Maximilian and Empress María headed north to Munich, into the contentious Empire beyond the Habsburgs' hereditary control, a place which needed to be visited but which, given the political situation there, was not easy to visit.

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[105] For an overview of the political position of the provincial estates in the Land Beyond the Enns and the Land Below the Enns, particularly their representatives' resistance to the rulers, see Strohmeyer, *Konfessionskonflikt*. For the 1565 ceremonies: p. 84. On the Estates in general: Gerhard Ammerer, et al., eds., *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten der Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 2007).

[106] In her biography of Emperor Maximilian, Fichtner reports that even though this agreement obligated all three brothers to support their three sisters in Tyrol, Maximilian and Ferdinand tried to pass off this responsibility on each other, a situation harder for Ferdinand to avoid as hereditary ruler of the territory in which the three archduchesses lived. Sutter Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, p. 67.

The journey into the duchy of Bavaria via Schärding on the Inn River took place over the next week. From there the route went on to Munich. Some time along the way, the news probably reached the court that the conclave convened at the death of Pope Pius had ended with the election of Michele Ghisleri, an austere Dominican friar and General Inquisitor, candidate of the reform party tied to Charles Borromeo. The one-time shepherd boy took the name of Pius V and got right to work implementing the decrees of the council his predecessor had successfully brought to a conclusion. This Pope Pius had been an ally of the previous anti-imperial pope Paul IV who had caused Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand so much trouble about his accession. For the next six and half years, Pope Pius would have run-ins with her father Maximilian as well. Although they shared a commitment—at least at this point—to war against the Ottomans, they differed significantly on religious issues. Competing Italian politics also brought the two men to loggerheads, as did a difference of opinion concerning the proper strategy to employ *vis-à-vis* the independent-minded queen of England, Elizabeth Tudor. (The emperor seems to have preferred a policy of engagement.) The courtier Khevenhüller would be sent to Rome the next month to congratulate the new pontiff, and to ask him for financial support for the upcoming campaign in Hungary.[107]

On 15 January, 1566, the imperial party arrived in Munich for a brief stay with Elizabeth's Aunt Anna and Uncle Albrecht in the ducal residence there. Like the duchess and duke of Württemberg, this ducal pair was continuing a construction project begun earlier in the century which was transforming the old moated castle built along the city's walls into a representative, "modern" palace. The couple, who had been married at an Imperial Assembly in Regensburg back in 1546, sponsored a luxurious court complete with antiquities and an ancient coin collection. This collection probably reminded Archduchess Elizabeth of her grandfather's similar collection back in the castle in Vienna. Elizabeth's education had been influenced by the tangible examples of the ancient past which the Ottoman emissaries had brought to the court when she was in Frankfurt a little over three years before. Here in Munich, she would have had the chance to compare notes with her sister Anna about the coins in the ducal collection, and perhaps also to peruse the ducal couple's growing library. She also would have had

[107] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 23.

the chance to visit the elaborate gardens laid out near the castle and stretching out across the city's walls into the surrounding countryside, perhaps in the company of the sisters' five teenage cousins, the duchess and duke's three sons and two daughters.[108]

The season's weather undoubtedly did not permit the best display of the hundreds of rose bushes the gardens contained, nor the craftily-concealed water jets that would spray unsuspecting guests in the heat of Summer. Perhaps Archduchess Elizabeth would have enjoyed the effect of those hidden pipes' discharges on the overdressed members of her entourage. The little brook through the gardens may have been trickling, but the maze was surely not much of a challenge for the archduchesses in its somber, denuded state. The two-storey fountain building, decorated with paintings depicting stories about famous women and men was worth a visit. The Italianate features of much of the palace complex could have recalled for her some aspects of the garden palace complex her grandfather had ordered built for her grandmother in Prague around the so-called Belvedere summer house with its impressive red-and-white roof.

It was the ball season and one of the things Munich's court was best known for was the high level of the music composed and performed there. Elizabeth's aunt and uncle had built Munich into one of the continent's leading music centers, with dozens of professional musicians on staff. Because of the death of the duke's sister Mechthild a month and a half before, the celebrations may have been restrained by the compulsory mourning ceremonies. The composer Orlando di Lasso, one of the most popular and influential composers of his time, was leading the musicians. He had taken charge fewer than three years before.[109]

Di Lasso had written a moving and impressive score for the traditional readings from the Book of Job that accompanied the Office of the Dead. This piece had been conceived for the private use of Duke

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[108] Kurt Hentzen, *Der Hofgarten zu München: Entwicklungsgeschichte einer historischen Gartenanlage* (Munich, 1959), pp. 11–14. The cousins were Wilhelm (18), Ferdinand (16), Maria (15), Maximiliana (14), and Ernst (12).

[109] Di Lasso was mentioned in Chapter One in reference to the Vienna Festival of 1560 and his composition "Prophetiae sibyllarum." For a contemporary manuscript illustration of the men and boys of the Munich *Hofkapelle* performing in the Saint George Hall of the palace, see Wolfgang Boetticher, *Aus Orlando di Lassos Wirkungskreis: Neue archivalische Studien zur Münchner Musikgeschichte* (Kassel, 1963), p. V. A 1565 portrait of di Lasso is reproduced in Adolf Sandberger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der bayrischen Hofkapelle unter Orlando di Lasso* (Lepizig, 1894), vol. 1, illustrations.

Albrecht until it was published the previous year, in 1565. It can be imagined that the somber singers at the Munich court intoned its melancholy questions in the days following the duke's only sibling's death. His mother, the dowager duchess Jakobäa, also mourned Mechthild's passing. Job intoned, "I have said to rottenness: Thou art my father; to worms, my mother and my sister."[110] Did Elizabeth, with the experience of so many births and deaths of her young siblings, respond to the lines, "Why didst thou bring me forth out of the womb…I should have been as if I had not been, carried from the womb to the grave?"[111] Mechthild died from complications giving birth to a baby that died. She was 33. Her four small children, all under the age of eight, would be orphaned three years later when their father died fighting in the religious wars in France. Elizabeth's aunt and uncle would raise the three girls and one boy at the court in Munich.

Di Lasso was in the midst of the most productive phase of his long career, composing and publishing at an astonishing rate. In 1565 and 1566, for example, he published chansons, madrigals, and motets in Venice, Paris, Antwerp, and Louvain.[112] He was particularly well known for his creative and intellectually-challenging settings for French poets such as Pierre de Ronsard.[113] A native French speaker, di Lasso was by now also working with vernacular German songs, composing a variety of love songs and even popular drinking songs that seem to have particularly struck a chord with Elizabeth's cousin Maria, Aunt Anna and Uncle Albrecht's daughter.[114] Three years Elizabeth's senior, the fifteen-year-old Maria benefited from the artistic atmosphere at the Munich court, becoming, like her mother and aunts, steeped in the music of the period. The following year, di Lasso would publish

[110] Job 17:14. Orlando di Lassus, "Sacrae lectiones ex Propheta Job," lectio septima. On the piece generally: Roche, *Lassus*, p. 28.

[111] Job 10:18–19. *Ibid.*, lectio nona.

[112] Wolfgang Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit. 1532–1594. Repertoire-Untersuchungen zur Musik der Spätrenaissance* (Kassel, 1958), vol. I, pp. 753–757.

[113] Roche, *Lassus*, pp. 42–43.

[114] Cousin Maria would become Aunt Maria four years later when she married Elizabeth's Uncle Karl. Many years later, in 1598, she received a game table inscribed with the song "Der Wein, der schmeckt mir also wol" by di Lasso. Maria had received a thorough artistic education and remained in contact with the composer even after she left Munich for Graz. "Maria von Bayern (1551–1608) am Hof zu Graz," Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, pp. 69–79.

German songs such as "Carnival is a Wonderful Time" and "The Wine Tastes Good to Me."[115]

Duchess Anna made sure that her daughters were taught music, although most likely their instruction concentrated less on lauding wine and more on sacred subjects. (Di Lasso himself was increasingly moving away from the secular compositions which had made his European-side reputation in favor of religious music.[116]) Elizabeth's cousins had regular organ instruction from the court organist Hans Schächinger the Younger, for example. Maria's younger sister, the twelve-year-old Maximiliana, was similarly trained. Her secretary later in life was di Lasso's wife Regina, the daughter of a lady of the Munich court, Margarete Wäckinger. Wäckinger served as Maria's governess. The women of the Bavarian court were closely tied to the star composer di Lasso.[117]

Archduchess Elizabeth would have occasion in a few years to remember di Lasso. His fame had been built to a large extent on the French chansons he composed, and this fame had caught the attention of King Charles of that kingdom. Di Lasso's music was published and popular in Paris. It may well have been the eleven-year-old's introduction to the sophisticated word and music play that the leading composers in Munich and Paris were concocting.[118] It would not be her last.

The chansons that di Lasso composed may not have been played at Munich in the long January nights of Elizabeth's brief visit because of the mourning which dampened that year's Carnival spirits, but because of the possibility of the archduchess' match with the young French king, she may have been particularly curious to read and hear about di Lasso's compositions in this language and genre, compositions which had captured the imagination of her potential groom who had already rewarded di Lasso with a French pension. Italian madrigals based partly on Petrarchan and other sonnets most likely comprised a substantial portion of her voice training (if the role of her sister Anna's voice

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[115] "Die Faßnacht ist ein schöne Zeit;" "Der Wein der schmeckt mir also wol." Boetticher, *di Lasso*, vol. I, p. 322.

[116] Adolf Sandberger, *Orlando di Lasso und die geistigen Strömungen seiner Zeit* (Munich, 1926), p. 27. Sandberger points out that prior to 1564, only two of the ten collections of compositions published by di Lasso were of sacred music. This ratio reversed in the years after 1564.

[117] Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, p. 70.

[118] Di Lasso was intellectually challenging to perform and understand. As musicologist John Milton wrote, "Lassus the motet composer does not make for easy listening. His engagement with the meanings of his texts is too great for that…" John Milson, "Absorbing Lassus," *Early Music* 33 (2005), pp. 305–320. Here, p. 319.

teacher Luigi Zenobi also can be extrapolated to the education of her younger sister). There is some evidence that Elizabeth's music teacher, the court organist Guillaume Formellis, shared di Lasso's interest in composing strong bass lines to give his works foundation and depth.[119] Di Lasso reportedly was particularly fond of recruiting deep-throated singers from the Low Countries who could provide this effect.

An example of a chanson that achieved almost the status of a "hit" in the period was di Lasso's "Bon jour, mon coeur," a relatively simple text by Ronsard which could have also served Elizabeth as a French vocabulary exercise.[120] Its imagery of love, flowers, and birds provides another dimension to the world in which the archduchess was growing up: her days in the gardens at Wiener Neustadt and then Vienna and her visits to the gardens in places such as Prague, Stuttgart, and Munich provided her with opportunities for horticultural discoveries as well as to view the caged birds so popular at the time. The song went:

> Good day, my heart, good day, my sweet life,
> Good day, my eye, good day, my sweet love!
> Ah, good day, my lovely one,
> My pretty one, good day!
> My delight, my love,
> My sweet springtime, my sweet new flower,
> My sweet pleasure, my sweet little dove,
> My sparrow, my gentle turtle-dove!
> Good day, my sweet rebel![121]

The image of a loved one who was a flower/bird/rebel was presented in texts such as these to Archduchess Elizabeth as she grew up in the 1560's waiting to hear to whom she would be married. It is not known if the contrast between the romantic ideal presented in her culture and the reality of her political situation was comprehended by the archduchess as a contradiction, or as two poles between which a middle way was to be found.

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[119] Koldau, *Frauen-Musik-Kultur*, p. 80 (on Anna and Elizabeth's teachers); Boetticher, *di Lasso*, vol. I, p. 277 (on his ties to France) and p. 215 (on his similarities with Formellis regarding the role of the bass part).

[120] Roche, *Lassus*, p. 43.

[121] *"Bon jour, mon coeur, bon jour ma douce vie,/ Bon jour, mon œil, bon jour, ma chère amie!/ Hé! bon jour, ma toute belle,/ Ma mignardise, bon jour,/ Mes delices, mon amour,/ Mon doux printems, ma douce fleur nouvelle,/ Mon doux plaisir, ma douce colombelle,/ Mon passerau, ma gente tourterelle!/ Bon jour, ma douce rebelled!"* Translation by Clive R. Williams, "Orlando di Lasso, Prophetiae sibyllarum…" p. 32.

While at the court in Munich, taking in the musical triumphs of the composer di Lassus, Elizabeth's father also enjoyed the company of his sister the duchess, who was only two years his junior and who had shared much of their youth growing up in Tyrol. They may have shared concerns about their younger sister Katharina in Poland; they, like all of Anne and Ferdinand's children, definitely shared interests in music, history, architecture and the arts.

In one area Duchess Anna and Emperor Maximilian apparently differed. This was in their commitment to the slowly-solidifying Roman Catholic or Tridentine positions in the confessional struggles of the age. Their father Ferdinand had never broken with Rome, even if he had not always agreed with papal representatives, and his daughter Anna remained committed to an orthodox religious position, unlike her brother who continued to skate the edges and seemingly condone at least some aspects of evangelical Christianity in its mid-sixteenth-century manifestations. Duchess Anna and her husband were laying the foundations for a new role for the leaders of Bavaria as key supporters of the movement now known as the "Counter-Reformation:" a set of policies and undertakings meant to respond to the (continuing) advances of the Lutheran or Reformed causes in the Empire.[122]

Archduchess Elizabeth may have had the chance to visit Saint James Convent, (the "Angerkloster,") a house of Poor Clares near the ducal residence in Munich where pious women continued their support for celibacy and the cloistered life, two behaviors not particularly cherished or supported by the Protestant reformers and their political supporters elsewhere in the Empire.[123] Here she would have experienced an active community of Franciscan nuns with ties to the ruling house. This example had appealed to her aunts in Innsbruck who had originally wished to enter the Munich settlement near their sister Anna but had

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[122] For an overview of the development of this term, see Joseph F. Patrouch, „Counter Reformation," in Kelly Boyd, ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing* (London, 1999), vol. 1, pp. 556–557. See also: John O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

[123] For the general context in Munich, see: Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2004). Strasser discusses the Poor Clares in the city on multiple occasions, including on pp. 67–69 where she wrote, "During the stormy times of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, this female convent indeed became a spiritual stronghold of Catholicism in Munich" (p. 69). On the history of the convent: Astrid Brosch, "Die Münchner Jakobskirche am Anger. Eine Baugeschichte vom 12. Jahrhundert bis heute," *Oberbayrisches Archiv* 121 (1997), pp. 223–295.

been denied by political realities in the Alps which required them to set up their religious establishment there. The image of a female religious house closely tied to the women ruling and providing space for upper-class women to practice their religion relatively independently, and where the ruling women could participate (as best they could as members of the laity) apparently would have long-lasting effects on the young archduchess: when given the chance a decade-and-a-half later, Elizabeth would, like another of her aunts, Juana, in Spain a few years before, found such a convent near the rulers' residence in Vienna.[124]

The Poor Clares, like Dominicans nuns elsewhere in the Empire, were often able to maintain their communities in the face of Protestant opposition, either clandestinely or, as was the case in Munich, with the explicit and substantial support of the ruling family. This may be partly the result of how well individual houses managed to participate in the reform movements of the previous century, as historian Amy Leonard has argued in reference to the survival of Dominican convents in the otherwise largely Protestant city of Strasbourg.[125] The house in Munich, the first convent for women there, dated from the 1280's. This was relatively early in the movement to found houses following the example of Saint Clare.[126]

The women of the order affiliated, like Saint Clare herself, with the followers of Saint Francis of Assisi, and became known as the "Second Order of St. Francis."[127] The legend of Saint Clare may have made her particularly appealing to noblewomen: unlike her collaborator Saint

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[124] Aunt Juana founded the legendary "Descalzas Reales" convent in Madrid in 1559.

[125] For the story of how a number of Dominican houses managed to survive the opposition of many burghers in the city of Strasbourg, see their story as told in Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall: Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany* (Chicago, 2005). For their relationship with the reform movement, see pp. 29–31.

[126] Houses of followers of Saint Clare spread rapidly throughout western and central Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries following her death in 1253. Beginning on the Italian peninsula, the order soon set up houses in Iberia. Saint Agnes, a daughter of the Bohemian king, established (and entered) a house in Prague in 1236, during the lifetime of Saint Clare. Max Josef Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 3rd ed. (Paderborn, 1933), vol. 1, p. 817. The geographic distribution of the movement was wide. It was popular in cities and towns large and small. Relatively independent of each other (unlike the men's friaries), the histories of this network of houses are varied and their status by Elizabeth's time often questionable. In any case, the houses or the memories of them provided some type of scaffold for future construction of a new, post-Reformation structure of female monasticism.

[127] *Ibid.*, pp. 815–816. See also: Petra Gross and Ancilla Röttger, *Klarissen. Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Ordensgemeinschaft* (Werl, 1994).

Francis, who was of bourgeois background, Clare was of noble stock and therefore her renunciation of the world came from a different angle, one more relevant to the noblewomen at court. Her story may have had particular appeal to girls like Archduchess Elizabeth and her sister Anna, too: Clare reportedly left home as a teenager to head a group of similarly-minded pious women. In addition to these ties to Saint Clare, the convent in Munich had the appeal of being connected to one of Europe's most popular saints, Saint James, according to legend Saint Mary's favorite apostle. In the charged atmosphere of religiously-tinged warfare on the eastern front, Saint James' reputation as a successful intercessor for aid against Muslims (he was known colloquially as "*Matamoros*" or "Moor Killer") made him all the more popular in 1566 when Elizabeth was in Munich and rumors of marshalling Ottoman troops were rampant.

The Augsburg Imperial Assembly of 1566

The Imperial Free City of Augsburg was not far from Munich, so the next stage of the court's trip was rather brief. It had not been that long since Archduchess Elizabeth had been in the busy city on the way back from her father's election and coronation: almost three years to the day. Now, on the afternoon of Sunday, 20 January, 1566, the Imperial entourage arrived outside of Augsburg's famous Red Gate.[128] Preparations had been ongoing for some time to arrange for the accommodations for the crush of people expected for this war-time assembly. The imperial court's personnel alone required the requisitioning of almost an entire neighborhood.

[128] The following account is based to a large extent on the "Reichstags-Chronik der Stadt Augsburg" located in the Augsburg City Archive and published in Heil and Lanzinner, eds., *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1483–1502 as well as Nikolaus Mameranus, *Kurtze uñ eigentliche Verzeychnus der Teilnehmer am Reichstag zu Augsburg 1566* (Augsburg: Mattheus Franck, 1566. Reprint Neustadt a.d. Aisch, 1985). In the introduction to his work, Mameranus states that he is currently in Brussels working for King Philip's Privy Council there (p. 12). A 1563 map of the city can be found in the exhibition catalog published by Stadt Augsburg, *Welt im Umbruch*, vol. 1, p. 258., Cat. Nr. 210. For general background, see Rosemarie Aulinger, „Augsburg und die Reichstage des 16. Jahrhunderts," pp. 9–24 in vol. 3 of the same catalog. She points out that Augsburg was the most important location chosen for Imperial Assemblies in the sixteenth century: 12 of the 35 *Reichstage* held that century were held in Augsburg (p. 9).

Empress María rode in a decorated wagon with her daughters Elizabeth and Anna. The ceremonial greeting by hundreds of black-clothed representatives of the burghers of Augsburg outside of the city was met by an estimated 700 Bavarian horsemen, complete with trumpeters and drummers, who rode ahead of another reported thousand imperial horsemen with the same accompaniment. Following the Imperials in a place of particular honor were a number of young dukes including Johann Friedrich of Pomerania and Elizabeth's cousin Wilhelm of Bavaria. Johann Friedrich had been in residence at the imperial court for the last two months. Elizabeth's uncle Duke Albrecht of Bavaria rode along near the emperor. The Bavarians wore mourning in remembrance of Albrecht's sister Mechthild. The emperor was progressing under the required baldachin. This time the canopy was held by some of Augsburg's leading burghers. He rode ahead of his wife and daughters' wagon. Their wagon was one of four carrying the women of the court. His Majesty's Archers followed in formation close behind.

Now the cannons positioned on the walls and bastions of the city began their noisy salute. An honor guard of hundreds of armored men of the city militia lined the procession's way into the city. Twelve delegates of the city council carried a golden canopy with the black imperial eagle sewn on it over the emperor as he made his way into Augsburg and to Visitation Cathedral for the welcoming services there. Elizabeth and the women of the court skipped the cathedral and headed right to their lodgings on Wine Market Square. By this time Archduchess Elizabeth had been through similar ceremonies repeatedly. She knew the drill.

Empress María and her family probably did not expect the delay that followed; the assembly would not open until over two months later. At first the members of the court busied themselves with settling into the luxurious city palace which Jakob Fugger had ordered built earlier in the century. The palace had women's quarters—the so-called "Ladies Court" (*Damenhof*)—designed and decorated in an Italianate style, complete with an arcaded courtyard decorated with paintings by Hans Burgkmaier.[129] While there, the court undoubtedly received word of an important family event: on 17 January Elizabeth's aunt Eleonora, the duchess of Mantua, had given birth to another child,

[129] Horst H. Stierhof, "Augsburg Architektur 1518–1650," Stadt Augsburg, *Welt im Umbruch*, vol. I, pp. 100–112. Here, p. 103.

a daughter christened Ana Catarina. This baby would grow up to be Elizabeth's aunt.

Next came the obligatory welcoming ceremony with the city officials. It took place on the afternoon following their arrival. The two archduchesses and their parents were given gilded, lidded drinking cups, products of Augsburg's famous goldsmiths. These cups would be displayed on the tall side tables set up at court banquets. Perhaps as interesting to Elizabeth as the cups themselves were the thousands of gold guilders showing her father on one side and the city's coat of arms on the other which the cups held. As was the custom, the city government also gave their sovereign and his family barrels of fish of various kinds, as well as small kegs of sweet wine, three wagons filled with barrels of table wine, and six wagonloads of sacks of oats. The oats were a particular symbol of hospitality and related to the necessity of taking care of the hundreds and hundreds of horses used by the imperial entourage. The new Imperial Vice Chancellor Zasius thanked the city fathers on behalf of the imperial family.

A list of the members of the women's court establishment drawn up later stated that Empress María's court in Augsburg totaled almost 110 men and women and 217 horses, not counting an unspecified number of "maidens."[130] The compiler complained in his introductory comments how hard it was to get accurate information concerning the women and horses present with some of the courts.[131] Only four women are listed by name. The first two are the widow María de Cardona and Catalina Lasso de Castilla, the wife of María's *mayordomo mayor* Francisco Lasso de Castilla. These noblewomen were charged with supervising the women's court and granted ten horses for their staffs. The other women listed were the washerwomen Appolonia de Victoria and Francisca Ferra. They apparently did not rate any equestrian assistance.

No mention is made of any specific staff responsible for Elizabeth and her sister Anna, although Magister Johann Maller, the man listed as the tutor for the pages in the court's attendance (and under the

[130] "*Jungkfrawen*," Mameranus, *Verzeychnus*, pp. 37–41. In general, it can be said that many of the people who were in service at Augsburg in 1566 also appear on the list of María's court officials of 1560, indicating a substantial amount of continuity over this period of Elizabeth's childhood and over the transition from royal to imperial status. For 1560, see Fernández Conti and Martínez Millán, *La monarquía*, vol. 2, pp. 699–703.

[131] Fernández Conti and Martínez Millán, *La monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 11.

supervision of María's court on this trip) may have assisted with the princesses' lessons, too. The girls probably interacted frequently during their over four months in the city with Father Álvaro de Magellanes, their mother's almoner. It appears that a "skeleton" chapel crew accompanied the women to the Imperial Assembly. Only Magellanes, four chaplains, and three assistants are listed as the chapel staff. The existing clerical infrastructure in Augsburg would supplement them. Two doormen, Hanns Lautterer and the long-serving Pedro de Linares, were assigned the task of regulating access to the women's rooms.[132]

Further analysis of the list of court staff can shed light onto life in the secluded women's apartments in the Fugger city palace that winter and spring. In addition to the expected servants and support personnel, men who took care of the horses and the kitchen, for example, two doctors and an apothecary were on hand to watch after the health of the empress and her daughters. A secretary, Francisco Verdugo, took care of María's official correspondence. Joseph Zanger seems to have been the moneyman: he is listed as "Paymaster/Secretary/Comptroller."[133]

Documents dating from two years before but dealing with the jurisdiction of the *Obirsthofmarschall*, the officer responsible for order while the court was on the road, reveal other aspects of life relating to the women's court. Maximilian's instructions to this official, Ludwig Ungnad, dated Vienna, 18 May, 1564 show a fear of religious heterodoxy at the court, particularly among its guards. The marshall "should…keep good order with all of the court staff" and move against "the present dangerous and seductive sects."[134] He was responsible for checking that the guards "live according to Christian order and not become acquainted with the annoying and reprehensible activities and studying with disputations, the reading of strange books and other undertakings."[135] Each employee was to prove through the submission of a certificate each Easter that he had gone to Confession and Communion. Empress María's head court official was to be consulted

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[132] Linares had served Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand as a lackey beginning in 1550 before being promoted to doorman in 1558. Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 246.

[133] *"Zalmaister. Secretari. Contralor."* Mameranus, *Verzeychnus*, p. 40. His position is not to be confused with that of Maximilian Straffinger, the "*Einkaufer*."

[134] "soll…mit allem hofgesindt gute ordnung halten," "jetzigen geverlichen und verfierlichen seckhten," in Strobl-Albeg, *Obersthofmarschallamt*, pp. 135–136.

[135] *"nach christlichen ordnung leben und sich dem ergerlichen und werflichen wesen und lernen mit disputation, lesen frembden buecher und in ander weg nit thaill haftig machen," ibid.*, p. 136.

when disputes between her courtiers and others arose. Apparently things were not always peaceful within the courts' confines.

To take care of the women's personal dress needs, the staff included Empress María's long-time personal tailor, Marcos de Herrera, as well as furrier David Füg. The cobbler Marcos de Madrigal, who had been in the queen's service since at least 1560, seems to have doubled on this trip as a saddler, providing leather goods to the horses as well as the people in the traveling party. Two specialists on working silk were along, too, and could have assisted the girls in their sewing lessons as well as provide them with the necessary thread. Surprisingly, María had with her at the Imperial Assembly an entire team of tapestry makers: Alonso de Mondtalbo supervised a staff of four.[136] Did the court while away the long Winter evenings weaving?

On Friday, 25 January, the palgrave Wolfgang von Zweibrücken and Neuburg, who had arrived with his retinue of 160 sumptuously decorated horse the same day as the imperial party and who had introduced his son Philip Ludwig to the imperial court on the following Tuesday, again took his leave of Emperor Maximilian. Palgrave Wolfgang was playing a complicated game of politics, accepting a pension from Elizabeth's uncle King Philip of Spain while vociferously advocating the position of the Lutherans in the Empire, all the while angling for the electoral title and holdings of the Palatinate.[137]

The emperor granted the palgrave permission to attend the festivities in Hesse surrounding the wedding of the late landgravine Christine and the old landgrave Philip's son Wilhelm with Sabina, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Duchess Anna Maria and Duke Christoph of Württemberg.[138] Archduchess Elizabeth had probably met Sabina three years before during the court's visit to Stuttgart. This wedding

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[136] An "Alonso de Montalvo" is listed among the "Reposteros de camas y guardas de damas" in 1560: Fernández Conti and Martínez Millán, *La monarquía*, vol. 2, p. 701.

[137] Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, pp. 111–121. The palgrave was trying to do a lot with a little. His principality was "nur ein unbedeutendes Ländchen" of not more than twenty square miles in area according to Julius Rey,"Pfalzgraf Wolfgang, Herzog von Zweibrücken und Neuburg," *Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* 29 (1912), pp. 1–124. Here, p, 16.

[138] Landgrave Philip had been an important supporter of Martin Luther. Philip would die the following year and his significant landgravate would be divided among his four sons. His marriage to an 18-year-old lady-in-waiting at his court, Margarete von der Saale, while his first wife was still alive undermined the moral position of the reform movement in many people's eyes. Margarete would die just after the 1566 Augsburg Imperial Assembly ended.

reinforced ties between those moderate Protestant leaders who were united in their opposition to the Calvinist-influenced policies of Friedrich III, Elector Palatine. Friedrich's policies had included confiscations and secularizations of ecclesiastical properties such as the Saint Michael's Foundation in Sinsheim, an undertaking which brought him into conflict with the bishop of Worms. Archduchess Elizabeth was seeing in the faces of the men at court in Augsburg some of the major power players in the messy political scene of the southwestern Empire, and how marriages were used to try and advance positions and strengthen alliances in this scene.

One activity which was repeated over the weeks to come centered on the various enfoeffment and confirmation ceremonies accompanying the journey of the new emperor into his empire. The "medievalism" of the period led to a peculiar mixing of contemporary politics with recreated rites said to have been drawn from some earlier time (with a substantial dose of resurrected or "reborn" Antiquity thrown in). The necessity of holders of imperial fiefs to come (or send their credentialed legal representatives) to the imperial court to swear their *obéisance* was used as an opportunity to buttress the (central European) Habsburgs' position in the lands outside of their hereditary control. This had been done in Frankfurt in 1562 with the publicity-shy duke of Lorraine. In Augsburg, it would be undertaken repeatedly. In fact, the official announcement of the Imperial Assembly which Emperor Maximilian had issued in Vienna back on 12 October, 1565 listed this undertaking first, stating that this meeting was "for each and every elector, prince, estate, and member, following ancient, honorable usage and tradition, to renew, confirm, and reinforce their regalia, fiefs, privileges, exemptions, rights, and jurisdictions…"[139]

Such ceremonies probably helped break the monotony of court life in Augsburg in the weeks and months the imperial court spent there. Monday, 28 January, for example, the prince-bishop of Eichstätt Martin

[139] "*…allen vnd yeden Churfürsten, Fürsten, Stenden vnd Gliedern des heiligen Reichs, altem löblichem gebrauch vnd herkommen nach, Jre habende Regalien, Lehen, Priuilegien, Freyhait, Recht und Gerechtigkait zuuernewern, zu confirmiern vnd zubestetten…*" Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, pp. 136–137. According to Baufeld, *Wörterbuch*, "glid" may also be translated as penis, a perhaps appropriate usage considering that only men were actually being invited to this assembly (p. 113). One woman was listed as attending in her capacity as representative of a set of imperial holdings: the widowed Countess von Tecklenburg. Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1577.

von Schaumburg and representatives of the prince-bishop of Chur, the embattled Beatus a Porta who came to power in a split election and had difficulty even residing in his Swiss diocese, participated in ceremonies underlining their legal rights to various secular jurisdictions. As seen in the case of the elector palatine and his policies, the question of the particular rights the bishops held as secular, not religious, rulers was a debated one. Emperor Maximilian could underline his claim to authority by ceremonially recognizing his vassals' rights and it did not cost him anything. The bishops received official, legal recognition of those rights. Both sides became invested in the existing order.

Things became more interesting the following week. Although Prince-Bishop Urban von Trenbach of Passau had arrived with his contingent on the third, Elizabeth probably did not place much importance on the visit of a man whom she did not know and to whom she was not related, even if his diocese included much of her father's hereditary lands and had important offices in Vienna. Later in her life she would get to know the bishop better as she administered lands in his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. On Thursday, 7 February, 1566, however, Elizabeth's aunt Duchess Anna of Bavaria arrived in Augsburg with her two teenage daughters, Maria and Maximiliana, her son Ferdinand, and their court. The sixteen-year-old Ferdinand had been on the road experiencing the exciting world of Italy and representing his family at the wedding of his (and Elizabeth's) aunt Johanna in Florence. Duchess Anna had been up in Hall in Tyrol visiting her deathly-ill sister, another aunt of the two cousins Elizabeth and Ferdinand, the thirty-year-old archduchess Margarete. Margarete and her sisters Magdalene and Helene were working on the establishment of their religious house there, but Margarete was not destined to see its completion.

The published list of participants at the Augsburg assembly reveals that the number of court ladies present in the city now expanded substantially with the arrival of the duchess.[140] Although they did not lodge together, the members of the empress' court and that of her sister-in-law could now interact socially, providing opportunities for entertainments and discussions among the women of both. Duchess Anna and her daughters were accompanied by a countess and a baroness as well as two noble widows who served as the court's *Hofmaisterin* and her deputy. Seven other ladies are listed by name. While linguistic

[140] Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, p. 99.

difficulties undoubtedly impeded the interactions between the Spanish-speaking Habsburg court ladies and their German-speaking Bavarian colleagues, intermediaries and interpreters were available, and common ground could have been found in voguish Italian, or even, for some, in formal Latin. This was precisely why the Bavarian young women's parents had sent them to court, at considerable expense: to meet the highest levels of society and to "network." Look what connections with the Habsburgs had done for the Fuggers in whose home Elizabeth was now staying: these bankers were now marrying imperial countesses!

Even though the assembly was yet to assemble, important imperial and international business could still be discussed. The French ambassador Bochetel was back at court pressing Dowager Queen Catherine's idea of a marriage between the House of Valois and the *Casa d'Austria*. The Venetian ambassador reported from Augsburg on 9 February that the issue had again come up in discussions with the emperor, but Maximilian had put it off saying that Elizabeth's marriage could only be undertaken after the marriage of her older sister Anna to the Spanish heir.[141] The prickly question of an enfoeffment ceremony for the prince-bishop of Metz, the holder of various imperial rights who had been installed by the French crown after the bishopric had been captured by its forces years before, was answered by the emperor in very general terms. Maximilian knew that this was a major issue for many of the princes in the Empire. At his election and coronation he had agreed to support the return of lost imperial lands. He could not afford to alienate the princes on the eve of an important assembly at which he hoped for large tax authorizations to help pay for the war in the southeast.

February brought another visitor to Augsburg who changed the atmosphere even more than Duchess Anna: for the first time in over a decade, a papal representative would be present at an Imperial Assembly. The new pope was clearly showing interest in the course of developments in the Empire. After consulting with the bishop of Augsburg, the recently-returned papal nuntio Delfino, and others, Pope Pius authorized Giovanni Francesco Commendone, the one-time

[141] Lunardo Contarini to Doge, Augsburg, 9 Feb., 1566. Turba, *Venetianische Depechen*, vol. 3, p. 308.

nuntio to Poland, to travel north to the Imperial Assembly.[142] Without formal instructions, Commendone traveled from Trent to Augsburg over the old Roman military road, the "*via Claudia Augusta*" to a city named after a Roman emperor and dating from the campaigns to subjugate the north. Many there, trained now as they were in stories of classical antiquity and Roman glory, saw this special legate in the particular, backward-looking light of humanists' image of the past.

Commendone arrived in Augsburg on 17 February. Together with the already-appointed nuntio Biglia, the two men represented physically and intellectually a papacy at a turning point in its history. The loquacious Jesuit Peter Canisius was there as well. One of the nominal hosts of the assembly, the cardinal prince-bishop of Augsburg, Otto Truchseß von Waldburg, would not appear until the day on which formal deliberations began over a month later. His representatives were active in the city beforehand, however, and notes found in the archives associated with his prince-bishopric allow some insight into aspects of the papal party's program heading into the assembly.[143] If Empress María or Archduchess Elizabeth gleaned anything of the various platforms and positions at the *Reichstag*, it was probably from the perspectives of the papal party's local supporters such as Cardinal Prince-Bishop Otto (and the additional perspective of Philip of Spain).

The notes betrayed the hard line being put forward in these early post-Trent years: the only way to achieve a religious settlement would be for the representatives of the Confession of Augsburg's lobby to accept the council's decisions. No national assembly was to be called to modify the just-completed one, and if specific articles were in question, then the pope and—perhaps—a general council were to decide the issue. Clerical reforms could be undertaken, but clerics could not be given the right to choose their religion as the secular rulers had been allowed in the settlement of 1555. Innovations in religion would not include concessions such as the Chalice to the laity or clerical marriage. Because of the social unrest it would engender, the right of subjects to choose their religion was to remain forbidden: the earlier settlement already permitted disaffected subjects to leave their territories. The bishop and his allies were digging in.

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[142] Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, pp. 109–111.
[143] *Ibid.*, pp. 140–141.

What was one to do during this Carnival season while waiting for the representatives to assemble in Augsburg? The opportunity for a festive tournament presented itself, and the market square outside of Elizabeth's family's apartments was transformed into a tilting yard for the occasion. Monday, 18 February, the Bohemian nobleman Jan Kinský hosted what the courtier Khevenhüller described in his diary as a "sumptuous and beautiful running at the rings" at which Kinský took on a series of challengers. These included the young Bavarian dukes as well as a row of the leading male members of the imperial court.[144] All of the participants, according to the city chronicle, were "costumed and well turned out."[145] When combined with the various enfoeffment and confirmation ceremonies, the *entrées*, and the general pomp, Elizabeth's impression of the goings-on in Augsburg was probably deeply tinged with a nostalgic medievalism which was reminiscent of her images of the Austrian past conveyed in the hewn stone façade of the chapel at Wiener Neustadt Castle.

Things were soon to change. As the date of the opening of the assembly neared, the atmosphere became more serious. The first step in this direction was the official proclamation and publication of the extraordinary rules which were to regulate life in the city as it was temporarily transformed from a trading center to the seat of the imperial legislature. Everyday rules were suspended in favor of an imperial proclamation concerning prices, rents, security, and so on. The declaration read, "How to behave at the current assembly concerning victuals and all other necessary proceedings."[146] Imperial heralds announced the new rules in each of the city's public squares. Elizabeth probably witnessed this event as it was held in Wine Market Square outside of her lodgings on Wednesday, 20 February. For the next three months and more, events and life in Augsburg stood outside of everyday experience.[147]

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[144] *"zirlich und schön ring rennen,"* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 23.

[145] *"vermumbt und wolgeputzt,"* Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, Vol. 2, p. 1490.

[146] The published regulations dated 15 Feb., 1566 were titled,*"Beschreibung, wie es auff demselbigen Reichstag der zerung halben und sonst in allen andern nottwendigen dingen gehalten soll werden." Ibid.*, note 29.

[147] The jurisdictions of the Augsburg City Council, the imperial court officials, and the hereditary imperial officials were in conflict and dispute. The Imperial Hereditary Chamberlain, Cupbearer, Kitchenmaster, and particularly Marshal all complained to the emperor about their status and incomes. See Bundesarchiv Außenstelle Frankfurt am Main, AR Bestände, Reichserzmarschallamtsarchiv (Microfilm Roll 19), A II/11, #11a; A III/ 24. The complaints are also discussed in Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag*

If Archduchess Elizabeth was permitted to explore the city at all during her stay, she would have seen a wide variety of merchants and artisans who had appeared there in order to meet the courts' and the assembly's needs. Purveyors to the imperial court were subject to the jurisdiction of the court's marshal, Ludwig Ungnad, and those merchants and other artisans permanently resident in Augsburg were under the city council's jurisdiction, but the other visiting suppliers were theoretically subject to the various members of the Pappenheim family who claimed hereditary rights over the office of Imperial Marshal. This included regulating prices, maintaining order, and punishing various types of criminal behavior such as brawling.[148]

A list of the sales stalls these visitors set up, together with the stalls' locations and the fees their owners paid to the Pappenheims for sales privileges gives a colorful picture of the world of the *Reichstag* Elizabeth may have traveled through on her way to church, or even visited at some point or points over the course of her months in the city.[149] There were many knivesmiths and people selling gloves. As might be expected given the tremendous amount of paperwork to be completed and all of the copies that had to be written, a number of quill makers had set up shop. There were tailors and gunsmiths, linens salespeople and weavers, meatsellers and lots of cobblers. Beltmakers, glassworkers, clothmakers, blanket manufacturers, sack sewers, conveyors of silvergoods, and hardware salespeople all lined the streets. Many of the dry goods sellers were simply listed as "Welsh," implying that they were selling wares imported from Italy. Booksellers were present, too, as were spoon carvers, cradle builders, and soapmakers. Perhaps Elizabeth's eye was caught by the jewelers, or the orange sellers? The presence of a velvet hat maker revealed a clientele with an eye for fashion.

After a foray into the noisy world of salespeople hawking their wares, Elizabeth would have returned to the women's quarters of the palace where the news from the eastern front was disturbing: special couriers had arrived in the city with word that the main Ottoman

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Augsburg 1566, Vol. 2, pp. 1438–1441 with a related jurisdictional complaint by the Imperial Free Cities dated 13 May, 1566 on pp. 1441–1442.

[148] There is a rather cryptic record dated 3 March, 1566 detailing that Hannß Kempter was tried by the Imperial Hereditary Marshal's office for criminal behavior in regard to Barbara Schenckhin: Bundesarchiv Außenstelle Frankfurt am Main, AR Bestände, Reichserzmarschallamtsarchiv (Microfilm Roll 19), A III/ 24, p. 928.

[149] *Ibid.*, (Microfilm Roll 20), A III/ 24, pp. 410–417.

army was on the march. The imperial ambassador in Constantinople informed the emperor of the sultan's official declaration of war. The imposing, if aging, Sultan Suleiman would join his troops for the long transport and trek northward to bring order back to his empire's central European borderlands and to teach the upstart Habsburgs and their allies a lesson.[150] Hectic war preparations followed in Augsburg. Correspondence with Archduke Karl, General Schwendi, and the Imperial War Council back in Vienna was constant as final defensive preparations were undertaken.

Preparations were also undertaken concerning how the populace in Augsburg was to react. Emperor Maximilian undoubtedly disappointed his younger daughter Elizabeth with his order outlawing the final Carnival celebrations. Preparations had been ongoing for the parties of the final days before Ash Wednesday, but now all "Carnival activities and similar games and entertainments" were to be stopped.[151] Lent began three days early in Augsburg, 1566. Prayers were to be the order of the day. They were made in an atmosphere of tension which formed an important backdrop to the negotiations which were to come, negotiations to a large extent centering on tax assessments to pay for the upcoming war.

Instead of a Carnival parade, *Mardi Gras*, 1566 saw the arrival of the Imperial Chancellor and his retinue. Prince-Archbishop Elector Daniel, a man Elizabeth had seen already in Frankfurt three years before, was met by Emperor Maximilian himself, accompanied by four or five hundred horsemen. The chancellor had 250 men riding with him as he and the emperor exchanged greetings in the heather outside of the city before turning to the important affairs of state which would occupy them for the weeks to come. They rode into the somber city and to Archbishop Daniel's residence located on the same square as the imperial family's requisitioned palace. Soon he would set up the chancellery offices and begin the process of accepting credentials. The *Reichstag* was ramping up.

For the next month, the staff of the Imperial Chancellery had their hands full meeting and credentialing the delegates to the assembly. Sometimes, the delegations were headed by the noble holder of a

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[150] The Imperial Privy Council minutes reveal that this was discussed on 23 Feb., 1566. Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, p. 103, note 251.

[151] "*…alle fasnacht und dergleichen spil und khurtzweil,*" Quoted in the city chronicle. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1490.

constituent unit of the Imperial Assembly. More often, counselors, staff members, and lawyers arrived at the Imperial Chancellor's office with their formal letters of introduction and powers of attorney. The identity of the latest arrivals was probably a topic of some discussion in the nearby imperial residence on Wine Market Square. Elizabeth received some of her education concerning the composition of the complex Empire from reports as well as her own eyewitness accounts. Undoubtedly, some of the new arrivals organized official audiences with the emperor or empress as they had in Frankfurt before the election and coronation of her father.

There were thirteen houses of females religious listed on the official tax rolls of the Empire who had the right to representation at the assembly. It appears that not all of the leaders of these convents or foundations made use of this right, but lawyers or counselors representing seven of them began to register the day after the arrival of Imperial Chancellor Prince-Archbishop Daniel of Mainz, on 27 February.[152] That day, two judicial officials of the Imperial Free City of Rottweil registered as representatives of the convent of Rottenmünster and its abbess Barbara von Rottweil.[153] Over the next four-to-five weeks, the legal representatives of the other imperial female houses who participated in the assembly dropped off their credentials in the temporary chancellery.

In total, there were seven men, almost all of them trained jurists, officially delegated to Augsburg to represent the interests of these women's houses. Due to their modest number and bourgeois status, it seems unlikely that the women of the imperial court came into contact with these lawyers during their stay in Augsburg, but the general issue

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[152] In her study of these houses, Ute Küppers-Braun lists sixteen Imperial Free Foundations led by women and due seats on the Prelates Benches. The 1566 assembly was one of most frequented by representatives of the women's houses in the entire sixteenth century. Küppers-Braun, "Dynastisches Handeln von Frauen in der Frühen Neuzeit," pp. 221–238 in Heide Wunder, ed., *Dynastie und Herrschaftssicherung in der Frühen Neuzeit. Geschlechter und Geschlecht* (Berlin, 2002). See table on p. 225 for list. These houses sat in the Swabian and Rhenish assemblies. The table on p. 226 shows the attendance at the various assemblies.

[153] Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1574. For the list of houses on the tax rolls and their assessed contributions, see p. 942. The house of canonesses at Kaufungen was listed as under the control of the Hessian authorities and no longer independent: "*hat der landtgraf zu Hessen*." It had been closed by the Hessian authorities in 1527 and converted into a foundation for noblewomen in 1565. Attendance at the assembly and the names of representatives were listed in the final document issued by the *Reichstag*. See the *"Reichsabschied," ibid.*, p. 1574.

of the marginal and threatened position of convents in the Empire in these decades probably came to their attention. The imperial women's houses were scattered about the Empire, with a few more in the south and west than in the north and east. The houses were in various states of activity: some of them such as the one in Quedlinburg dedicated to Saints Servatius and Dionysius or the one in Gernrode dedicated to Saint Cyriacus had been converted into Lutheran establishments.[154]

As Lent and winter made their slow progress through the following weeks, Elizabeth would have had the chance to revisit and discover the evolving sacred spaces in the city.[155] These were spaces being slowly carved out or maintained in a social world with numerous people intent on calling into question many of the traditional practices associated with Lent such as fasting. There were some physical manifestations of the new, more self-confident, reformed and codified Christianity tied to the Trent council. One of these manifestations was to be found in the Fugger city palace in which Elizabeth spent most of her time in Augsburg.

There, the recent (re)convert to reformed Catholicism, Imperial Countess Sibylla von Eberstein, Marx Fugger's wife, was sponsoring the construction of a chapel. It would not be consecrated in honor of Saints Mary, Anne, and Michael until over four years later, but apparently was complete enough to have a movable altar set up within it by 1564. Here María and her daughters Elizabeth and Anna would have prayed. The winged altar created for the chapel is difficult to date with accuracy, but comes from the period between 1564 and 1570. If it or a predecessor with similar imagery was available for Archduchess Elizabeth's contemplation in 1566, they would have shown her scenes

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[154] Küppers-Braun, "Dynastisches Handel." The table on p. 227 shows that the Austrian, Burgundian, Rhenish Electoral, Franconian, and Lower Saxon Imperial Circles all had no female houses represented. The representatives at the 1566 assembly came from houses located in the Bavarian (2), Swabian (3), and Upper Saxon (2) Circles.

[155] One space where religious practice was changing was in the confines of Saint Catherine Cloister, a Dominican house in the city and one of only two religious houses (male or female) to survive the Reformation period without closing. (The other was the female house of the Holy Star.) At Saint Catherine's a new, reforming prioress took over in 1563: Susanna Ehinger had been influenced by Peter Canisius. Roper, *Holy Household*, pp. 230, 235. For the shifting sacred landscape of Augsburg in a later period, see Duane J. Corpis, "Mapping the Boundaries of Confession: Space and Urban Religious Life in the Diocese of Augsburg, 1648–1750," pp. 302–325 in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, eds., *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005).

familiar: a coronation of Saint Mary in the middle flanked by the grandmother Saint Anna holding a small Mary and Jesus on one side and an archangel Michael with the scales of justice, sword high and raised in his right hand.[156]

Since María and Elizabeth had last been in the city, the cathedral choir vicar Ulrich Sigmayr had paid for the renovation of Visitation Cathedral's chapel dedicated to Saint Catherine. María and her daughters most likely had the opportunity to contemplate the new altar there which was decorated with images of the life of the Virgin drawn from Albrecht Dürer's works. The central theme was the Nativity. Elizabeth at almost twelve years of age could think about the small baby in the center of the scene, surrounded with half a dozen little angels (with more circling happily above), in the middle of depictions of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the visit of the three kings (who are shown in contemporary garb kneeling before or bringing presents to a woman and her baby), and the Virgin's death as eleven men look on.[157]

This Marian-centric set of images was set up as a response to the Reformation's followers' ideas which tended to downplay Mary's significance. The images' affects on the maturing archduchess can only be imagined. The reference in Vicar Sigmayr's inscription to Psalm 25's words, "I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth" could serve to underline the importance of church construction and renovation projects.[158] In a few years, Elizabeth would undertake both.

The other significant new construction in the cathedral was located in the family chapel of the Ilsungs. There, Melchior Ilsung, the recently-deceased brother of the important imperial financial administrator, Swabian regional official, and counselor to the late emperor Ferdinand, Georg Ilsung, had supervised the renovation of their family's final resting place. Following a period of flux and iconoclasm in the city, supporters of the slowly-reforming traditional Christian (or Roman Catholic) forces were gathering their courage and resources and replacing, rebuilding, or sponsoring new works of artistic production which stressed continuity with earlier forms.

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[156] For a detailed discussion of this chapel, see Strecker, *Augsburger Altäre*, pp. 249–272 (with illustrations).

[157] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–197 (with illustration).

[158] Psalms 25:8.

The Ilsung renovation project took almost a decade.[159] Their chapel's decorations showed the long tradition of imperial service of the family. One depicted, for example, their illustrious forefather Georg (who had died 1427), a member of Emperor Sigismund's council. During the penitential days of Lent, the apparently consciously old-fashioned winged altar would have been closed, so Elizabeth would have been confronted not with the rather hopeful and festive images of intercessors Saints Sigismund, George, Ulrich, Blasius, Sebastian, and Sebald, but with six images of good works drawn from the Gospel of Saint Matthew (25:35–36) to be undertaken to help merit salvation.

These six images, which art historian Freya Strecker pointed out are drawn from a series of 1534 engravings by Georg Pencz, could have served as a kind of textbook for Archduchess Elizabeth's activities in the world, and the evidence of her life suggests that she took such lessons very seriously.[160] The altar's painter had modified the original images' captions from the words of Christ "You Have Given Me Shelter," for example, to an imperative: "Give Strangers Shelter."[161] Elizabeth or any other observer of the altarpiece saw six scenes illustrating Christ's words, but converted into straightforward instructions on how to act.

The Augsburg painter hired by the Ilsungs had also altered Pencz's older imagery in another significant way: the women who had played such a large role were now almost entirely removed from the scenes. Pencz had shown women participating in every one of these works of mercy. When the visit to the sick is depicted, for example, it is a woman who is holding a plate and putting a spoon into the bedridden Christ figure's mouth. When the visit to the imprisoned is shown, it is a woman who is comforting Christ in the stocks, placing her hand on his shoulder while two men watch. Now, in Augsburg's cathedral in 1566, Archduchess Elizabeth would see simplified scenes where single male figures follow the inscriptions' injunctions, helping men who often look little like a traditional depiction of Christ. Only in one of the scenes is a woman still present: a male pilgrim representing a stranger is shown into a house by a centrally-depicted and well-dressed woman.

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[159] Strecker, *Augsburger Altäre*, pp. 117–137 (with illustrations).

[160] *Ibid.*, p. 125. The altar's images are shown in Illustrations 25–28, Pencz's images in Illustrations 31–36.

[161] *"Ir. Habt mich beherweigt," "den frembden beherb…gib"* (Caption partially illegible.)

If Elizabeth had pondered this new altarpiece during Lent that winter looking for a female role model, the one presented was a woman supporting pilgrimage. This was a lesson which would stick.[162]

The Imperial Assembly in Augsburg would be marked by the high percentage of the highest-level personages of the Empire's personal appearances. Of the seven electors, for example, only one, the ailing margrave Joachim II "Hector" of Brandenburg, would not make an appearance. On the afternoon of Wednesday, 6 March, his son and frugal heir Johann Georg and grandson Joachim Friedrich arrived, accompanied by around 180 horsemen. They encountered a rather modest reception by the familiar Duke Johann Friedrich of Pomerania, the secular bishop of Kamień Pomorski, who shared ruling over the Stettin and Pomeranian lands with a number of his male relatives and probably wanted to maintain close ties to his important neighbors. Margrave Johann Georg had fought at Emperor Charles' side at Mühlberg twenty years before and held the title of counselor to Charles' son King Philip. The Brandenburg heir would leave again only a few days later when word of his father's worsening health reached him.

Twenty-year-old Joachim Friedrich was left with the imperial court, so the women there would have had some chance to meet this budding but apparently not handsome margrave from the contested eastern marches over the course of the court's stay in Augsburg.[163] At the moment he was, at least in title, Bishop of Havelburg, Lebus, and Brandenburg. (He had been elected to his first bishopric, Havelburg, at the tender age of seven.) Bishop Joachim Friedrich's appointment as administrator of the important diocese of Magdeburg a few years later would lead to ongoing controversy and political problems for his mentor Emperor Maximilian.

Lenten observances at court were punctuated by the periodic arrival of princes, princesses, and their entourages. Elizabeth may have attended a large banquet her father hosted in the palace for the arriving dignitaries on Sunday, 10 March. She probably was pleased to be able to again see her uncle Duke Albrecht of Bavaria who arrived the next

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[162] If Elizabeth knew her Bible (or was told it well by her teachers), she may also have remembered Matthew reporting earlier in the same chapter of the ten virgins with their lamps waiting for the bride and bridegroom (Verses 1–12). This story of unmarried girls and wedding preparations may have spoken particularly to girls such as Elizabeth and her sister Anna as they waited and wondered about their nuptials.

[163] Heil and Lanzinner, *Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1491.

day. Imperial Countess Anna von Tecklenburg and her representatives registered that day as well.[164] This dowager countess was the only woman representing a political unit at the *Reichstag* that year, and she was there with a very specific agenda. Assisted by the Hessian counselor Dr. Jakob Lersner and her secretary Johann Andreas, she was preparing a restitution claim against King Philip's Burgundian government headed by Elizabeth's aunt, the duchess Margarete. Countess Anna requested the return of a seigneurie which included four villages. She argued that it had been illegally purchased. The claim would be submitted less than a month later and made its way slowly through the assembly's supplication process over the course of the following two months.[165]

Duke Christoph of Württemberg arrived Thursday afternoon, 14 March with his son and heir, the 21-year-old Eberhard, whom María and Elizabeth had most likely seen four years before in Stuttgart. The two men made a stately entrance into the city with Duchess Anna Maria, two of her daughters, and 150 horse.[166] Now there were at least three major female courts resident in the city: those of Empress María, Duchess Anna of Bavaria, and Duchess Anna Maria of Württemberg. In addition, there were minor female courts such as those of Countess Anna von Tecklenburg and Elizabeth's family's hostess, Countess Sibylla.

The court of the electress-duchess Anna of Saxony, who had participated in the women's world around the election assembly in Frankfurt am Main four years before, made a dramatic addition to the women's world in Augsburg in 1566. Of royal Danish and Norwegian birth and the sister of King Frederick II of those kingdoms (r. 1559–1588), the electress and her husband, the ambitious duke August, were greeted with dramatic ceremony on the afternoon of Wednesday, 20

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[164] *Ibid.*, p. 1577.

[165] *Ibid.*, p. 1465. Unlike many supplications, this one was initially presented to the assembly instead of to the emperor. Perhaps it was thought that, due to the family connections between Maximilian, his brother-in-law Philip, and Philip's half-sister Margarete, the claim would get a more nearly neutral hearing if that venue was chosen.

[166] In his published account of the *Reichstag*, Mameranus admitted to difficulty divining information about the court of the duchess of Württemberg. "*Das Frawenzimmer hab ich nit können vberkommen…*" he wrote. Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, p. 110. The editors of the published records of the assembly point out some of his omissions, including this one: Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag zu Augsburg*, vol. 2, p. 1488, note 19. They report that Duchess Anna Maria was accompanied by two of her daughters, but do not identify them. The oldest unmarried daughters in 1566 were Elisabeth (18) and Emilie (16).

March. Elizabeth's aunt Duchess Maria and uncle Duke Wilhelm of Jülich-Cleves had arrived that morning with 150 horse.[167] Now, he and many of the assembled male notables such as Elizabeth's father Emperor Maximilian, the three clerical electors, the dukes of Bavaria, Münsterberg, Pomerania, and Württemberg, the palgrave Wolfgang, the prince-archbishop of Salzburg, the prince-bishop of Passau, and others, rode out with their retinues to greet the newcomers. The participants in the Saxon electoral couple's *entrée*, which reportedly lasted three hours, rode an estimated 1,800 to 1,900 horses.

Five decorated wagons carried Electress Anna and her ladies. The electress had left two small children at home in Saxony, although eight more had already been buried by the time she arrived in Augsburg that March. Death was a part of mothering: if the mother did not die, chances were the baby might. Anna's fourteen-year-old daughter Elisabeth, sister-in-law Emilie (dowager margravine of Brandenburg-Ansbach), Emilie's daughter Duchess Sofie of Liegnitz, Emilie's niece Dorothea, Duchess of Sachsen-Lauenburg, and other ladies of rank accompanied them.[168] Many of these women were Electress Anna's relatives through her husband. They represented ties to the political worlds of the north and east of the Empire, places such as Schleswig-Holstein and Silesia. They came from far beyond Archduchess Elizabeth's experienced world of the south and southeast. Her horizons were widening as she listened to their conversations in accented German of a different variety from that which she had hitherto heard.

A figure of at least symbolic and ceremonial significance also arrived the same day as Imperial Marshall Elector-Duke August of Saxony and his wife: Empress María's titular High Chancellor, Wolfgang Schutzbar, Primate of Germany and Gaul and Abbot of Fulda.[169] Abbot Wolfgang had until recently been Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and

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[167] The number of horses in Elizabeth's aunt and uncle's party is taken from the Augsburg city chronicle's report. *Ibid.*, p. 1492. A letter from the duke of Württemberg's chef to the duke dated Stuttgart, 23 Jan., 1566 reported that quartermasters preparing for the assembly had told him that the couple would be staying in the home of Mrs. Sailerin near Holy Cross Gate with 400 horses. *Ibid.*, p. 1484, note. 6.

[168] Augsburg Chronicle. *Ibid.*, p. 1493; Mameranus, verzeychnus, p. 78. The male officers of Electress Anna's court are listed on p. 74: "Junckern so auff die Churfürstin warten."

[169] He is listed on the official record of the assembly's concluding document, the *Reichsabschied*, as "Bestettigten Apts des Stiffts Fulda, Roemischer Keyserin Ertzcantzlers, durch Germanien vnd Gallien Primatis." Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1568. The electors of Saxony held the position of Imperial Marshalls.

therefore involved in the conflicts and negotiations with Elizabeth's uncle King Sigismund of Poland-Lithuania. He apparently did not stay long in Augsburg. After the opening meeting of the Princes Council he was represented by a lawyer. The Fulda representative present at a number of the council's meetings toed a line close to the one established by Austria. It is not clear to what extent Abbot Wolfgang exercised the office of High Chancellor to the empress. He did have the model of Imperial High Chancellor Daniel, who was utilizing the prerequisites of his ceremonial office to great effect at the meeting and who had forced a type of compromise with the Habsburg-appointed Imperial Vice Chancellor.

With the arrival of the Elector of Saxony, it was deemed that sufficient parties were present to warrant the opening of the assembly. On a rainy, windy, and cold Saturday morning, 23 March, the assembled notables accompanied Emperor Maximilian to services in Visitation Cathedral. Elizabeth probably did not see the Mass which was held or the departure of most of the princes from the church in silent protest of the Roman Catholic ceremonies. (Reportedly, only her uncles Albrecht and Wilhelm, along with Count Karl von Zollern, the representative of the Swabian counts, remained of all of the secular lords attending the opening of the *Reichstag*.)[170] The Protestant representatives went to hear an evangelical sermon in the duke of Württemberg's lodgings. Both groups reassembled following the Mass and sermon and went in procession to the Augsburg city hall where the assembly was opened.

Even though the young archduchess was not present, some discussion of the following events at the assembly is warranted because they bear on the specific context of the negotiations over her future. The marriage negotiations with the French ambassador had been put off, to the ambassador's dismay, but the specific issues touching on France which were discussed at the assembly help to situate her match.

Elizabeth's uncle Albrecht welcomed and thanked the assembled. A secretary then read the imperial proposition which was to be debated over the upcoming weeks. This lasted about an hour and a half. Afterward, Emperor Maximilian addressed the assembled personally, reminding them of their duty to discuss these issues and of his hope

[170] According to a report dated 30 March, 1566 from the Braunschweig representatives, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 1495, note 37.

that they would not decline his request for "Turk assistance."[171] This emphasis reflected the emperor's priorities and served to remind the assembled of the threat approaching the Empire from the southeast.

Although there were numerous articles to debate, not the least of which centered about the issue of the amount of financial assistance to be authorized for use in the upcoming war, the one titled "Recuperation" held the most significance for Imperial-French relations and therefore bore on the possible Archduchess Elizabeth-King Charles match. The "Recuperation" article centered on the sticky problem of the restitution of territories and rights once held by the Empire and now in the hands of foreign powers, particularly France, but also including the complicated situation in the northeast of the Empire, where war was raging between forces of the Danish-Norwegian crowns and the Swedish one. Poland-Lithuania as well as Muscovy and the other two powers also were angling for pieces of the imperial territories along the Baltic established by the Teutonic Knights. Once the issue of restitution of these territories was broached, it was impossible to avoid the somewhat related issues of the peculiar legal situations which the House of Austria had carved out in its territories to the south and west. Discontent with the policies of the king of Spain as holder of the rights over the Burgundian Circle was particularly marked.

The imperial proposition maintained that His Imperial Majesty's office required that he support the honor of God and peace in the Empire. The Emperor's duty was not only defined as defending the Empire's current "dignities, reputation, honor, rights and legal claims," but "to protect from further loss and diminution," and "to restitute what has been removed from it…"[172] Knowing that emperors were called "expanders of the Empire," the proposition continued, His Imperial Majesty wanted to increase the Empire as best he could.[173] He asked the electors, princes and estates to consider what could be undertaken "when some years ago many important pieces were stolen and removed by foreign, alien powers and from the same still remain in their possession…" so that these pieces could "again be recouped, conquered and

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[171] *"türgkhen hilff"* quoted in the city chronicle, *ibid.*, p. 1496.

[172] *"digniteten, wirden, her, rechten und gerechtigkeiten," "weitern abfall und schmelerung zuverhuten," "was demselben entzogen, wider herzezepringen…"* Imperial Proposition, pp. 169–198 in *ibid.*, vol. 1. Here, p. 195.

[173] *"mherer des Reichs," ibid.*

returned to [the Empire]."[174] In addition, they should consider "in what way and how the practices and attacks of those that wish to decrease the Holy Empire and weaken it in its members and estates can be broken and cut off and the Holy Empire be protected in the future from further decline, diminution, and weakening."[175]

One of the primary neighboring powers to which reference was being made here was the Kingdom of France. Fourteen years before, after successful military operations in the area, its representatives had taken over various rights associated with the prince-bishoprics and Imperial Free Cities of Metz, Toul and Verdun. The convoluted political and religious situation in the duchy of Lorraine and the surrounding area was made more convoluted by the incursion of French royal officials and forces into the territory. The confusion, resulting security crisis, and generally instability which now characterized this corner of the Empire were exacerbated by the civil and religious warfare that had begun to wrack the French kingdom. Back in 1562, Prince-Archbishop Elector Johann VI of Trier, partly in his role as Imperial Archchancellor of Gaul and the Kingdom of Arles, the now-titular or almost legendary western administrative zone of the Empire, had approached then-king Maximilian with the idea of marrying the emperor's daughter Elizabeth to the eligible young French king. (Metz and Toul were just up the Mosel River from Trier, and trouble flowed downstream from them into the prince-archbishop's possessions.) Now, four years later, the idea again appeared as one which could help bring some type of stability in the relations between the Habsburgs and the Valois.

After the opening ceremonies and the reading of the imperial proposition, Elizabeth's father and the other notables rode back to his lodgings in a procession surely witnessed by the archduchess. As they approached on horseback, four heralds rode ahead, two representing the Empire, one the Kingdom of Hungary, and the fourth the Kingdom of Bohemia. Immediately in front of His Imperial Majesty was Elector August of Saxony, proudly showing off his position as Imperial High Marshall by carrying the unsheathed sword of imperial power and

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[174] "*Bei etlichen jarn hero viel ansehenlicher stuck durch auslendische, frembde potentaten entzogen und endtwendet,*" "*widerumb recuperiert, erobert und wider darzu gebracht.*" *Ibid.*

[175] "*wie und welcher massen dhen jenigen, so das Heilig Reich noch weiter zu schmelern und ahn seinen glidern unnd stenden zuschwchen understehn mochten, ire practicken und aschlegen abgescgnitten und gebrichen und das Heilig Reich kunftiglich vor weiterm abfal, minderung und schmelerung verhuetet werden moge.*" *Ibid.*

office. A younger son from an off branch of his family, the forty-year-old duke had married well: his wife, the royal princess Anna, probably proudly watched as he performed the public duty associated with one of the Empire's highest offices.

Debate on the various articles in the imperial proposition began the following Wednesday, 27 March, the same day Cardinal Prince-Bishop Otto of Augsburg arrived in his episcopal seat after his journey north from Rome. The debates would mostly be conducted in a variety of smaller meetings of the various houses and estates, commissions and committees of the general assembly. The most important of these was the Council of Electors which consisted of representatives of the six electors besides the King of Bohemia. Sometimes, for particularly important discussions, electors would appear personally to take part in the council's deliberations.

The emperor and the Imperial Council (*Reichsrat*) had met the day before after receiving more unsettling news from the Hungarian front. They had expressly requested that the assembly debate the question of the defense levy first, (even though the representatives of the Elector Palatine argued that the religious issues should be given precedence).[176] But when the Council of Electors met in Augsburg City Hall that Wednesday morning, the first item they debated was whether or not the representatives of the disputed three prince-bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were to be admitted to the assembly's second chamber, the Council of Princes.

This juxtaposition reveals clearly the situation in which the emperor found himself this Lent, 1566. Desperate for money to pay and supply his troops and to recruit military support for the defense efforts in the southeast (outside of the Empire's borders it should be recalled), Maximilian needed to confront the continued problems within the Empire represented by the arrival of representatives of the imperial territories of Metz and Verdun, with their problematic relationship with the French crown. These representatives had appeared at the offices of the imperial chancellor with their credentials and were demanding an official copy of the Imperial Proposition, as well as seats and votes in the Princes Council.

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[176] The records of the *Kurfürstenrat*'s debated and decisions are well preserved. On the meeting of the *Reichsrat* in the emperor's dining room in the morning on Tuesday, 26 March and the Elector Palatine's position, see *ibid.*, p. 202.

Imperial Chancellor Archbishop Daniel of Mainz chaired the opening session of the Council of Electors personally. Archbishop Johann of Trier, clearly concerned with this issue which affected three of his archdiocese's suffragan bishoprics as well as his own territory's security, Archbishop Friedrich IV von Wied of Cologne, and Duke August of Saxony were also there, as were representatives of the other two electors, the palgrave of the Rhine and the margrave of Brandenburg. They unanimously agreed to hear representatives of the Council of Princes concerning this issue of membership in their body.[177] Eventually, after consultations between the two councils and with the princes' counselors, the archbishop of Salzburg's chancellor, as chair of the Council of Princes, proposed that the representatives of the two territories not be allowed seats, but that the territories not be expelled, only suspended. It was hoped that some day they would be "recouped" for the Empire. This proposal was accepted by the assembled.[178]

Opinions concerning the issue of the three prince-bishoprics varied widely, as is revealed in the instructions issued for some of the representatives to the assembly. They ranged from the fiery palgrave Wolfgang von Zweibrücken's desire to use force if necessary, to Elector August of Saxony's more realistic position that the territories were not going to be returned and the Empire was not prepared to fight for them.[179] His delegates' instructions issued before the meeting state that the delegates were only to discuss the issue if French representatives showed up (which they did). Duke Christoph of Württemberg seems to have occupied a middle ground: his instructions to his delegates reveal that he wished the assembly to debate how best to recover Metz, Toul and Verdun and opened up the possibility of a special imperial embassy to Paris to take up this issue with the authorities there.[180]

Discussions concerning this thorny problem persisted on and off for most of the time of the assembly in Augsburg. Six weeks later, representatives of the electors were still debating how best to deal with the "Recuperation" question in the emperor's initial proposition. The elector of Trier's representatives were deeply involved in the debate, and the minutes of the Council of Princes meeting held on 8 May

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[177] Kurfürstenratsprotokoll, 27 March, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.
[178] Fürstenratsprotokoll, 27 March, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 539–542.
[179] Zweibrücken: Memorial of Ulrich Sitzinger dated n.p. 7 Jan., 1566 in *ibid.*, p. 159. Saxony: Instruction dated Dresden, 22 Dec., 1566 in *ibid.*, p. 162.
[180] Instruction dated Stuttgart, 18 Jan., 1566, *ibid.*, p. 167.

reveal that prince's position and concerns. After the chancellor of the archbishop of Mainz again read the section of the proposition dealing with "Recuperation" generally, a Trier counselor declared,

> [w]hen one speaks of the diminution of the Empire, one mentions only Metz, Toul and Verdun, but others such as Livonia and Prussia are not thought of. It would be good to do so, but now the Empire has to deal with the Turk, so this year one will not be able to come to it.[181]

He recommended reminding King Charles of France of the protest letter the *Reichstag* had sent to the French crown seven years before, and that Metz, Toul and Verdun be again ordered to pay their imperial back taxes.

More importantly from Trier's perspective, however, was keeping the southwestern borders of the Empire secure. The representative is quoted as having said, "[i]n addition, it is not enough that one recoups what is lost, but one must also keep what one still has. Now, strange things are occurring on the borders of the Empire…"[182] He went on to list losses to the holdings of the prince-archbishop as well as the Imperial Abbeys of Echtenau and Tolei, and claimed that developments which had started back in 1559 had led to threats against the security of the city of Trier itself. "…if one has and fortifies Trier, he would have a passage into the lands of all four of the Rhenish electors…" he continued.[183] To complicate matters, the Trier representative also pointed out that the losses and threat were not only to and from France: he reported that representatives of Burgundy were claiming Saint Maximin Cloister: "now this cloister is situated between Trier and the Rhine. If that were taken, it would also happen to Trier. Please, consider these things, how Trier can be helped," he concluded.[184]

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[181] *"Wan man von abgang des Reichs redhe, nen man allein Metz, Tull, Verdun, aber andere, als Lifflandt und Preussen, wurdt nit gedacht. Nuhe wer gut dazu zuthun, aber hab itzo das Reich mit dem turcken zuthun, das man dis jhar dazu nit kommen moge."* Kurfürstenratsprotokoll, 8 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

[182] *"Verrer sei es nit genug, das man auch recuperir, so verloren, sonder muss auch behalten, was man noch hab. Nuhe gehe es selzam uff den grenitzen des Reichs zu…" ibid.* pp. 429–430.

[183] *"Wo nuhe einer Trier hett und befestigt, hett er ein pass in aller vir rheinischen churfursten landt…" ibid.*, p. 430.

[184] *"Nuhe lig solch closter unter Trier gegen dem Rhein zue. Wo das entzogen, wer es umb Trier geschehen. Pitt, den sachen nachzudencken, wie Trier inn deme hilff gelaist werden mochte." Ibid.*

This revealing cry for help from the offices of the prince-archbishop elector of Trier helps situate the marriage negotiations between Archduchess Elizabeth's father and King Charles' mother in the complex triangle of relations between France, the central European Habsburgs, and their western European relatives. The interests of the latter, in Spain, the Americas, the Mediterranean, the Low Countries, the Free County of Burgundy, and elsewhere, did not always correspond with those of Maximilian. Elizabeth could be used as a way of helping to bind and brake both the French and the Spanish kingdoms' ambitions in the area.

Due to even more pressing matters represented by the thousands of enemy troops making their way through the Balkans and massing on the Hungarian border, little could be done at this time concerning the Empire's southwestern flank. A few weeks after the debate in the Council of Electors, on the evening of 27 May, Archbishop Daniel of Mainz's chancellor arrived at the imperial lodgings with a draft of a letter to be sent to King Charles. Emperor Maximilian took it under advisement and three days later authorized its translation into Latin and conveyance to the French king. In the letter, the emperor and estates of the Empire reminded Charles of earlier messages sent both to his brother and predecessor, King Francis II, and to him concerning this matter and demanding the restitution of

> …the aforementioned chapterlands, principalities, and cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun including all that which is dependent and belonging to them…to permanently restitute to the Holy Roman Empire, evacuate, and remove from possession and also to not hinder the return of their property, goods, and estate of those that in the past acts of war and forceful occupation of the said places were displaced, forced away or departed.[185]

Elizabeth, still living and praying in the Fugger palace on Wine Market Square, may have gotten wind of these negotiations and discussions concerning one of her possible husbands. In a little over four years she

[185] *"…di obbemelten stifft, furstenthumb unnd stet Metz, Thull und Verdun sambt deme, so denselben anhangt unnd zuegehorig,…dem Hl. Röm. Reich widerumb restituirn, einraumen unnd hand davon abthuen, auch diejhenigen, so in verloffnen kriegsyebungen unnd gwalltsamen einemung derselben stett deß iren entsezt, verjagt und ausgewichen, zu iren haabm guetern und stand wider ongehindert khomen und dabei bleiben lassen."* Entwurf für ein Schreiben der Reichstände an Kg. Karl IX. von Frankreich," *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1018–1019.

would be back in the southwest of the Empire for a *Reichstag* discussing such matters further, and then on her way to France as Charles IX's bride. Her entourage would be led by the archbishop of Trier.

Elizabeth's marriage was not the only one being discussed in Augsburg that Spring. On 2 April, the English special envoy Christopher Mundt arrived to talk more about a possible match between his queen Elisabeth and Archduchess Elizabeth's uncle Archduke Karl.[186] His arrival in the Free City corresponded with and was overshadowed by another of the great ceremonial occasions of the assembly: the *entrée* of the cantankerous elector palatine, Palgrave Friedrich III of the Rhine. All of the male nobles of rank took this opportunity to dress up and ride out to meet the last of the electors to arrive, many in armor. Friedrich was accompanied by 150 horse, but the total number of riders in the entire welcoming party was estimated to have been somewhere between 1,800 and 2,000.[187] It was an impressive display of the significance of the heterodox palgrave.

Mundt reported that he had an audience with the emperor two days later. In another report dated 17 April, he wrote back to England that the emperor was attending Mass daily, and that many at the court were supportive of an Anglo-Austrian alliance.[188] Perhaps the "middle way" being blazed by the Tudor queen of England in matters religious would be a match with a similar strategy being contemplated by the emperor? It appears that the English queen was at least keen on continuing the conversation: she issued instructions two weeks later to another envoy, Thomas Danett, who was to deliver a personal letter from her to Maximilian nominating him to replace his late father as a Knight of the Garter and detailing how to respond to questions concerning the marriage negotiations concerning Archduke Karl.[189] An Imperial Assembly such as this one was not simply a parliamentary exercise: it was also a major social and diplomatic occasion. Marriage plans and prospects made up the topics of many a conversation, both in formal audiences and in the women's chambers of the Fugger city palace.

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[186] Report of Mundt to Cecil, Augsburg, 9 April, 1566. *CSP Foreign Series Elizabeth I 1566–1568*, p. 47.

[187] Augsburg City Chronicle, Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1497.

[188] Report dated Augsburg, 17 April, 1566. *CSP Foreign Series Elizabeth I 1566–1568*, p. 50.

[189] Instruction for Dannett date 30 April, *ibid.*, pp. 57–58.

The process of establishing the imperial tax assessment was completed in the last days of Lent. Lent seems an appropriate time to have assessed and documented the levels of contribution expected from the various institutions and territories represented at the assembly. The "urgent help" requested by the emperor was to be paid in cash, not in men and horses.[190] Elizabeth's uncle Albrecht of Bavaria had advocated this step in the position paper he had read in the Council of Princes, citing the precedent of 1557.[191] The text of the assessment is useful to see how at some level the resources of the various members of the assembly were evaluated, and the relative political power of each member as reflected in their assessed tax burden.

The assessment was levied in horsemen and infantrymen, although there was a standard cash value given to each. Generally, one horseman equaled three foot soldiers. Of the electors, the duke of Saxony had the highest assessment, at 65 horse and 301 foot. All of the other electors, except the prince-archbishop of Trier, were assessed at 60 horse and 277 foot. Trier had to pay 40 horse and 184 foot.[192] His weak position economically and politically was recognized. The disputed three prince-bishoprics were supposed to pay rather substantial amounts: 20/70 for Metz, 6/20 for Toul, and 14/30 for Verdun.[193] The women's houses had a relatively low level of financial responsibility. The thirteen houses listed owed a total of ten horse and 87 2/3 foot.[194] The highest assessment on the women's institutions was on the house in Essen. It owed two horse and thirteen foot. Quedlinburg owed one horse and ten foot; Niedermünster in Regensburg owed the comparatively high amount of two horse and six foot.

The difficult and complicated relationship of the Empire to its basically autonomous members in the Low Countries ruled by Elizabeth's aunt Margarete in the name of Elizabeth's uncle Philip is reflected in the extremely high assessment levied against those territories. At 180 horse and 831 foot, it was by far the largest single assessment against any unit, and thrice that of the elector of Saxony. People could—and

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[190] *"Eilende Hilfe."* On the general move away from troops to cash, see Rauscher, *Zwischen Ständen und Gläubigern*, p. 80.

[191] Stellungsnahme Hg. Albrechts von Bayern, Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 918.

[192] Reichsanschlag unter Berücksichtigung aller bestehenden Moderationsbeschlüsse, *ibid.*, p. 938.

[193] *Ibid.*, p. 939.

[194] *Ibid.*, p. 942.

did—grumble that the Habsburgs' Austrian and Bohemian lands did not show up at all in these lists!

Further evidence of the slackening grip of the Empire over many of its members is revealed in a separate assessment drawn up on 8 April, the Monday of Holy Week.[195] It is mostly Swiss instances such as Chur, Basel, Geneva and Sankt Gallen which are listed on this sheet; it concerned the "uncertain" members of the assembly. The total number of horses listed as "uncertain" was 335. Together with the 2,426 foot, the assessment would reveal to a contemporary evaluator just how costly the Alpine cantons' withdrawal from the collective had been. Two female houses appear on this "uncertain" list: Thorn and Baindt.[196] Together they owed only five foot soldiers. The cities (as opposed to the prince-bishoprics) of Metz, Toul, and Verdun also are listed. Metz owed the stately amount of forty horse and 250 foot, again revealing why some of the assessors at Augsburg that Spring may have looked longingly at the lost cities in Lorraine as a way of meeting some of the financial expectations of the imperial authorities. The city of Toul owed 7/61, Verdun 10/45.

Empress María and Archduchess Elizabeth would have had little reason to follow such arcane debates as to the tax liability of distant cities or run-down, once-sacked nunneries. Their attention was most likely centered on the religious ceremonies accompanying the conclusion of the Lenten season, the Holy Thursday and Good Friday liturgies, for example, that would have been performed in the city's churches. That Tuesday of Holy Week, Emperor Maximilian had confirmed the privileges of a hard-pressed Dominican convent in the mostly-Protestant Free City of Strasbourg, perhaps adding to the depth of his pious activities through this outward expression of his commitment to such institutions in this time of crisis.[197]

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[195] Verzeichnis der 'ungerwissen' Stände in der Reichsmatrikel. *Ibid.*, pp. 948–950. This list is calculated on a sixteenth-month long assistance assessment and therefore does not compare precisely with the earlier assessment.

[196] Neither of these houses is reported to have sent representatives to any of the Imperial Assemblies between 1555 and 1582: Küpper-Braun, "Dynastisches Handel," Table, p. 226. Thorn was a member of the Lower Rhenish Circle and Baindt a member of the Swabian Circle. *Ibid.*, Table, p. 227.

[197] Leonard, *Nails*, p. 96. Leonard ascribes much significance to the support of the emperor in the embattled convent's struggle to survive in the fact of opposition by the city fathers.

After the Easter holiday celebrations, the business of the assembly could be taken up more briskly. There were still late arrivals to be greeted, to be sure, but the business of debating the imperial propositions, assessing taxes, renewing fiefs and privileges, presenting supplications, holding audiences and diplomatic meetings, and socializing now began in earnest. This higher level of activity would characterize the next six weeks until the assembled began to take their leaves of the imperial court. All the while messengers were hurrying back and forth from Vienna and the Hungarian front with news of war preparations and the inexorable approach of the Ottoman army.

For the women's courts, another significant addition appeared on the Tuesday following Easter. Palgrave Wolfgang and his eldest son Philip Ludwig had already been in Augsburg, at court, and away again, but now Wolfgang's wife Palgravine Anna arrived with two of her daughters and their ladies-in-waiting. She did not appear to have any business of her own at the assembly, instead playing an accompanying role like many of the duchesses and other women already mentioned as present in the bustling city. They also played the important roles of spectators at the various open-air and closed-door enfoeffment and confirmation ceremonies which were now on the emperor's daily calendar.

The week of 21 April was a particularly active one in this regard. That Sunday, Emperor Maximilian regulated the complicated succession and inheritance issues relating to the holdings of Archduchess Elizabeth's aunt Maria and uncle Wilhelm. By imperial decree, the principalities of Cleves, Jülich, Berg, LaMarche, and Ravensburg were to be united in perpetuity.[198] On Monday, the prince-archbishop electors of Mainz and Trier received their imperial regalia privately in the emperor's chambers. Although it was not a problem for Emperor Maximilian, Archbishop Johann of Trier's lack of consecration as either a priest or a bishop was the type of situation which was increasingly being called into question by papal representatives such as Cardinal Commendone or adherents of the reformed papal party such as Bishop Otto of Augsburg. It was also a reason that the ecclesiastical electors were not always in the Counter-Reformers' camp. Archbishop Johann's colleague Archbishop Friedrich of Cologne, for example, was resisting a papal demand that he swear an oath accepting the decrees and canons of the council at Trent as a precondition of papal recognition. Archbishop Johann and Emperor

[198] Decrees dated 21 April, 1566, *CSP Elizabeth I, 1566–1568*, pp. 57–58.

Maximilian may not have wanted to draw unnecessary attention to the former's rather irregular situation in a public ceremony.[199]

One of the most talked about and elaborate ceremonies of the entire *Reichstag* occurred on Tuesday, 23 April on a stage set up in Wine Market Square outside of the imperial women's court lodgings. Elector August of Saxony was invested with his imperial fiefs and regalia as duke and High Marshall of the Empire publicly and in open air.[200] The resonance of the ceremony, as reflected in the role it played in almost all of the representatives' accounts, reports, and records of the assembly in Augsburg that year, helped the Saxon elector to secure his political position in the Empire. He could then move forward with his plans to insure that no claims made by disgruntled relatives about his newfound dignity could be taken seriously. For Archduchess Elizabeth, the ceremony would have worked well with the various entertainments she had seen over the years, dovetailing the political realities of her world with the imagined knightly romance of the jousts and pageants she experienced. It seems many at the time would have been hard pressed to clearly separate the two. The next day Emperor Maximilian was elected a Knight of the Garter.[201]

Between Elector August's public investiture and the celebrations of it held a week later, controversial *Reichstag* representatives arrived in Augsburg. On Sunday, 28 April, the Knight of the Golden Fleece, Governor and Captain-General of the duchy of Luxembourg, Count Peter Ernst Mansfeld came to represent his king's interests as well as those of the Burgundian territories of the Empire which King Philip held. He was accompanied by the Spanish ambassador to the imperial court, Thomas Perrenot, Lord Chantonnay. Chantonnay was from the Free County of Burgundy, another western unit of the Empire. This county also had been allocated to Elizabeth's uncle Philip in the

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[199] Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1503–1504.

[200] For other published accounts, see *ibid.*, pp. 1498, note 41 and pp. 1502–1503. Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, includes an account, see pp. 125 ff. See also Watanabe-O"Kelly, *Bibliography*, p. 6, Nr, 32 for an account published in Augsburg, 1566 by Franck. For a contemporary woodcut depicting the ceremony and the women and men watching it from the Fugger city palace windows, see Stadt Augsburg, *Welt im Umbruch*, vol. 1, pp. 251–252, Cat. Nr. 204. Rosemarie Aulinger pointed out that this was the last such public enfoeffment ceremony in the history of the Holy Roman Empire: "Augsburg," p. 17.

[201] Elias Ashmole, *The Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1971), p. 390.

Habsburg family negotiations which had resulted in his decision to scale back his claims to the imperial title.

There were numerous complaints piling up at the assembly about the Burgundian territories and their rulers' policies, including accusations that they did not properly follow the Empire's policies on coinage or the religious peace settlement and that they did not properly pay their taxes. Imperial Free Cities such as Frankfurt were concerned over reports of new tolls downstream along the Rhine and conflicts over fishing rights, too. Apparently the fishermen at the mouth of the Rhine had fastened a tight-knit net to over one hundred ships, catching almost all of the fish in the area and reducing catches farther upstream.[202] Archduchess Elizabeth saw again, as she had in Frankfurt four years before, a representative of her mother's brother, and he was a Knight of the Golden Fleece. (In Frankfurt the king of Spain had been represented by the duke of Arschot).

Elector August celebrated his newly-confirmed positions with a "stately banquet" which he and Electress Anna hosted in their apartments at midday on Tuesday, 30 April.[203] The emperor and empress, together with the other electors and princes and their wives were all present, the city chronicle reported. Although Elizabeth and her sister Anna are not expressly mentioned as having been at this celebration, the presence of the other women probably means that the two young archduchesses also received invitations. Celebrating with a common, public meal was an important part of confirming a ceremony such as the duke's reception of the position of Imperial High Marshal. Elizabeth played the role of witness of note to this notable occasion. The Saxon representatives reported that "the electors and other princes, and the electress and other princesses, personally served and accompanied the Imperial Majesty and the empress in great number."[204] The representative of Prince-Bishop Urban of Passau reported that 900 portions of food were served, and the "display course or confectioners' banquet" alone cost over 3,000 guilders, a stately sum indeed when the

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[202] StA F/M, Reichshandlungen, Rep. 121. Reichstag Augsburg 1566, ff. 387v–388r. Reichsstädte "Memorial" dated 3 May, 1566. Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1442–1443.

[203] "*stattlich panchett*" Augsburg City Chronicle, *ibid.*, p. 1498.

[204] *"die chur unnd furstenn, auch chur unnd furstin eigener person der ks. Mt. unnd der kayserin mit grossem geprenge auffgewarttet undd beleittet haben."* Report to Dukes Johann Friedrich and Johann Wilhelm of Saxony dated Augsburg, 30 April, 1566. *Ibid.*, p. 1498, note 42.

financial needs of the emperor on the Hungarian front are taken into account.[205]

Another aspect of the reciprocal social relations demonstrated in connection with Elector August's enfoeffment was the counter-gift Saxony brought to Empress María the following day, May Day, 1566. On this day, traditionally tied to Spring, planting, fecundity, and even to some extent female power, the empress was given a "beautiful, sumptuous wagon" covered in black velvet bordered in gold and silver and elaborately decorated, together with four black horses and a driver all similarly expensively decorated and dressed.[206] The electoral couple from Saxony was trying not simply to impress the empress; Anna and August were trying to show off the riches of their powerful duchy. The gold and silver on the wagon's cover could recall for those present the mining riches from which the Saxon rulers were benefiting. These riches served as the economic foundation of their rise to power and influence.

Elector August's colleague Friedrich, Elector Palatine had it a bit tougher getting his rights and positions recognized by the emperor. Controversial and pushy when it came to matters religious, this Calvinist-tending palgrave confronted various hurdles on his route to the confirmation of his privileges and the investiture with the various imperial rights he was due. On the same day as Elector August's public triumph, Elector Friedrich was notified that in an unusual step his formal request for approval of his regalia was being referred out of the Aulic Council directly to the emperor. Less than a week later he received the desired confirmation—but in a private ceremony.[207] A report from a representative of the city of Strasbourg back to his city council stated that after the ceremony the elector was treated to a long speech by Emperor Maximilian enjoining him "to renounce the Calvinist teachings and giving many arguments and reasons to do

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[205] *"schawessen oder zucker bancket,"* Chancellor Gotthard to Bishop Urban, Augsburg, 5 May, 1566, *ibid.*

[206] *"ainen schönen, herrlichen wagen,"* Augsburg City Chronicle, *ibid.*, p. 1498. The term "herrlich" also has connotations of rule which are probably not without significance in this account: the empress was given a luxurious wagon which in some ways embodied her authority through its rich decorations. As she and her daughters and female courtiers rolled through the Empire's countryside and city streets, there were displayed in a mobile scene of authority.

[207] *Ibid.*, pp. 1503–1504.

so."[208] To celebrate his enfoeffment, Elector Friedrich hosted a banquet that evening for the attending princes. There is no sign that the sharp-tongued emperor attended or was invited.

The same day, Duchess Elisabeth of Mecklenburg arrived in Augsburg with her husband Duke Ulrich. Duchess Elisabeth was Electress Anna of Saxony's aunt, and also of royal Danish blood. This Elisabeth headed the latest women's court to join those already in the city, a court with the noblewoman Agnes von Schönaich, a *Hofmaisterin*, and eight ladies-in-waiting.[209] The Augsburg assembly would be where Hungarian-Bohemian royalty met Danish-Norwegian royalty, under the umbrella of the Empire. Elisabeth and Ulrich's daughter Sophie would go on to become Queen of Denmark-Norway.

Another recurring problem in the Empire and one in which another duchess of Mecklenburg, Anna, was embroiled, related to the political situation in the Baltic. Archduchess Elizabeth's uncle Sigismund, King of Poland and Grand Prince of Lithuania, had moved troops into territories at least nominally under the protection of the Empire, including some in present-day Latvia. Danish, Swedish, and Muscovite troops had similarly made incursions into the area. Duchess Anna of Mecklenburg's son Christoph, the administrator of the north German bishopric of Ratzeburg on Mecklenburg's border, had been named co-administrator (*Koadjutor*) of the prince-bishopric of Riga as well. Apparently due to Duke Christoph's recalcitrance to turn over documents and seals relating to his rule of the latter, King Sigismund had imprisoned him. Now the duke's mother was appealing to Emperor Maximilian for his assistance in securing her son's release.[210]

This was a tricky situation for the emperor: he was still negotiating the return of his sickly sister, Sigismund's wife Queen Katharina. On 25 April he sent his special envoy Bishop Andreas of Pécs back to Vilnius and forwarded Duchess Anna's supplication to the assembly

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[208] *"von der calvinischen Lehr abzustehn; und dazu vil persuasions und motiven gebraucht"* report dated Augsburg, 30 April, 1566. *Ibid.*, p. 1504, note 9. Winfried Schulze has pointed to Friedrich's forceful advocacy of Calvinism at this assembly and the members' response as the start of a more tolerant attitude to this set of religious beliefs on the part of the imperial powers-that-be: Schulze, „Augsburg und die Reichstage im späten 16. Jahrhundert," Vol. I, pp. 43–49 in Stadt Augsburg, *Welt im Umbruch.* Here, p. 44.

[209] Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, p. 105.

[210] Supplication of Duchess Anna von Mecklenburg, Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1419–1420.

with an order to discuss it. The duchess had sent a document which was supposedly the imprisoned duke's own supplication together with eight attachments and enclosures documenting his case. A Mecklenburg counselor, Dr. Johann Boucke, was charged with shepherding the case through the supplication process. The plea of the duchess was then read at the Imperial Council meeting held on 28 April, the day before King Sigismund's ambassador Franz Krasinsky's protest denying imperial jurisdiction in the area was similarly presented to that body.[211]

Duchess Anna's plea eventually reached the Supplication Council (*Supplikationsrat*) on 15 May, was reviewed by representatives of the duke of Saxony and the archbishop of Salzburg, went back to the council and then on to the full assembly and was presented to Emperor Maximilian on 27 May, a bit over a month after he had first acted on the duchess' request and over four months from when she had first composed it. Eventually, the Aulic Council took up the matter on 3 June. It was decided that the emperor would write the king and that the matter would be included in Maximilian's diplomatic efforts to end the ongoing Baltic war. It was hoped that at least Duke Christoph's prison conditions could be improved via this intervention of the emperor and the Imperial Assembly.

This supplicatory process was open to women and men. While it is not certain, it seems likely that the people bringing cases before the *Reichstag* could have also used the social opportunities the various court entertainments provided as well as the numerous audiences held to advance their cases. In the example discussed in detail above, a duchess interceded with the emperor and the assembly in order to help her son. By doing so, she brought his case to the attention of many of the most important political figures in the Empire. A few additional examples can show the world of female supplicants which may have interfaced with Archduchess Elizabeth's world at these occasions, although clearly the young princess was just now learning about such things as supplications and intercessions.

Back on 4 April, Countess Anna von Tecklenburg's restitution claim again the government of Burgundy headed by Elizabeth's aunt Margarete (and represented now in Augsburg by Count Mansfeld and

[211] *Ibid*., pp. 1434–1436. King Sigismund went so far as to accuse Empress María's High Chancellor, Abbot Wolfgang of Fulda, of conspiring with Moscow against Poland in his earlier office as Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.

Lord Chantonnay) had been submitted to the imperial chancellery officials in their offices across Wine Market Square from Empress María's Augsburg residence. Within a week it had been read at an Imperial Council meeting. It was forwarded to the Supplication Council and then the assembly before reaching Emperor Maximilian's desk on 1 June. The estates recommended that he either ask the king of Spain and his representative the duchess of Parma to return the properties in question, or at least set up an imperial commission to study the problem further.[212]

Other supplications related to the rather mundane matter of taxes. Abbess Barbara von Aham of Niedermünster Convent in the Free Imperial City of Regensburg, for example, submitted a request for tax abatement, or at least the establishment of a commission to review the assessment against her house. Emperor Maximilian forwarded the request to the assembly on 29 April.[213] Abbess Anna of Quedlinburg had two pieces of business before the *Reichstag*. Like Abbess Barbara, Abbess Anna thought that her convent's assessed tax bill was too high and had complained about it to the Upper Saxon Circle authorities without success. She reminded the emperor and the assembly that the city of Quedlinburg (which belonged to her convent) had advanced the Empire 8,000 guilders for the use in the execution of imperial business, and that this loan had yet to be repaid. Abbess Anna requested that it either be repaid—with interest—or the amount deducted from the convent's overall tax bill.[214]

The vulnerable situation of convents in the Empire at this time is shown in the documents relating to three other women's houses, two from nuns forced to leave their institutions because of the activities of the elector palatine, Palgrave Friedrich, and one from a Cistercian house which had been closed by order of Palgrave Wolfgang of Zweibrücken. On 8 May Anna von Seckendorf, prioress of the house of Dominican nuns which had been located in Liebenau, submitted a restitution claim against the elector. In her claim, she reported that in order to be able to continue to practice their religion, she and her nuns had had to abandon their cloister and seek refuge in another

[212] Supplication of Countess Anna von Tecklenburg-Bentheim, *ibid.*, p. 1465.
[213] *Ibid.*, p. 1423.
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 1437. Both of these supplications were submitted via the emperor on 30 April.

community at Adelshausen near Freiburg im Breisgau (in Habsburg territory).[215]

Abbess Anna of the house at Seligenporten reported a similar story concerning the elector. Her case was presented to the emperor on 19 May. She requested that the elector be instructed to allow the abbess and nuns back in their house and that he be ordered to return the various documents relating to the convent which his officials had taken.[216] Although Elizabeth's father Emperor Maximilian had grudgingly confirmed the elector's rights in the Empire and had given the palgrave a piece of his mind concerning Calvinism a couple of weeks earlier, the emperor was in an awkward situation when it came to policing the Protestant's undertakings and protecting women's houses in his territories. He needed the taxes which Friedrich paid and even the political support which he could sometimes provide.

Representatives of the house of Cistercian nuns at Lauingen reported that Imperial Counselors had already requested that Palgrave Wolfgang respond to the nuns' charge that he was in violation of an imperial order issued by Emperor Ferdinand back on 20 February, 1563 while he was in Constance on the way home from Maximilian's election and coronation. Apparently, Wolfgang had not responded to date and had even gone so far as to confiscate the convent's properties and tear down its cloister. The nuns were now in exile in Neidingen im Gnadenthal. Their complaint was submitted to Emperor Maximilian on 26 May.[217]

Not all of the convents' complaints came as the result of what their representatives considered excessive tax assessments or from the actions of zealous Protestant palgraves. This is revealed in the case of the Imperial Convent of Remiremont in the key border duchy of Lorraine. The abbess, deaconess and chapter of the convent submitted a harsh complaint against the actions of the duke of Lorraine, the ambitious young lord who had received the confirmation of his imperial privileges at Frankfurt four years before. According to the abbess and the other nuns, the duke's officers repeatedly violated Cloister Remiremont's privileges and rights and ignored imperial orders issued both by Emperor Maximilian and his father Ferdinand to desist from such actions. Earlier

[215] *Ibid.*, pp. 1411–1412.
[216] *Ibid.*, p. 1460.
[217] *Ibid.*, pp. 1409–1410.

in the year, an imperial messenger and a representative of the abbess had been arrested by the duke's officials, the town of Remiremont had been occupied, and its inhabitants had been required to swear an oath of allegiance to the duke. The abbess asked the emperor to take his responsibility as protector of the house seriously.[218]

The abbess and the other nuns at the convent were able to attract considerable attention to their house's plight through bringing their case to the emperor. On Monday, 13 May, Emperor Maximilian ordered it brought before the assembly. This was the day following an elaborate running at the rings which had been performed on Wine Market Square and a tremendous banquet hosted by Empress María on behalf of all the princesses present in Augsburg. Reportedly, the dancing following the banquet lasted until two the following morning, the day that Elizabeth's father ordered the women's complaint given a formal hearing.[219]

It would have been hard to deny the nuns' request for a hearing in the context of the courtly celebrations that were being undertaken, celebrations that at least implicitly touched upon "medieval" themes of chivalry and the honor of knights. The new Imperial Marshal Elector August had played one of the two roles of challenger, together with the archbishop of Salzburg's brother Rudolf von Khuen-Belasy. Duke August's honor as marshal, the enforcer of imperial order and authority, was on the line in such a case as this one: Remiremont Cloister's officials claimed that imperial authority was being flaunted and that the women there were not being protected. After weeks of discussion, the Supplication Council and the assembly reported to the emperor on 1 June with the recommendation that the cloister's wishes be supported in this matter. Aulic Council records dated the court's last day in Augsburg, 3 June, report that Emperor Maximilian wrote the duke telling him of the assembly's decision.

The days leading up to the tournament and Empress María's banquet on 12 May had been busy ones. On Thursday, 9 May, for example, another outdoor enfoeffment ceremony, this one of the administrator of the Teutonic Knights' territories in Prussia and Master of the Order in the German and Welsh Lands, Georg Hund von Wenckheim, was

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[218] *Ibid.*, pp. 1443–1444.

[219] "*Ist ain schön, herrlich rhennspüll durch dz ringlin auff dem Weinmarckht gehalten worden.*" Augsburg City Chronicle, *ibid.*, p. 1500.

held.[220] The new Grand Master had been invited to Augsburg personally by Emperor Maximilian. His public acceptance of the imperial rights given by the emperor could help to strengthen the order's claims to territories in the east, particularly in the international competition with Poland-Lithuania. The reinforcing of contemporary political positions by reference to archaic ceremonies such as this much-publicized one was a recurring aspect of public life which Elizabeth experienced during her childhood. It was also reported that the emperor wished to discuss a greater role for the knights in the defense of Hungary and the Empire, particularly as their historical role in the Baltic seemed to be threatened and shrinking. The increase in prestige of the military orders which was the result of the Knights of Saint John's successful defense of Malta the previous year could have also played a role in such calculations. Elizabeth would have seen renewed interest in the Teutonic Knights, an order which her younger brother Maximilian would one day go on to lead.

On 10 May Elizabeth's uncle Duke Guglielmo of Mantua arrived for a short visit at the *Reichstag.* He also attended the weekend tournament and his sister-in-law's banquet. Reportedly, his primary reason to make the journey north was to confirm his family's patronage rights over the diocese of Mantua.[221] The visit gave Elizabeth and her family the opportunity to personally congratulate the duke on the birth of his daughter, Elizabeth's four-month-old cousin Ana Catarina, too. It appears that Duchess Eleonora did not accompany her husband over the Alps.

The arrival of the cardinal prince-bishop abbot Marcus Sitticus von Hohenems of Constance with 250 horse on the day after Duke Guglielmo and the day before the tournament and banquet reinforced the Roman Catholic contingent in the city and provides some of the political context of Empress María's banquet that weekend.[222] The prince-archbishop-elector Johann of Trier, together with the prince-archbishop Johann Jakob von Khuen-Belasy of Salzburg (who Archduchess Elizabeth probably remembered from his participation in the coronation festivities in Bratislava for her mother and father)

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[220] *Ibid.*, p. 1499. A contemporary printed account of the ceremony gives his titles *"Administrator des Hochmaisterthums in Preüssen, Maister Teütsche Ordens in Teüschen vnd Welschen Lannden." Ibid.*, p. 1499, note 45. "Welsch" normally refers to Romance-language speaking people and the lands where they live.

[221] *Ibid.*, p. 1499, note 46.

[222] For background on the bishop's diocese at the time, see Hermann Tüchle, "Das Bistum Konstanz und das Konzil von Trient," vol. 2, pp. 171–191 in Schreiber, *Weltkonzil.*

and the cardinal prince-bishop Otto of Augsburg rode out to meet the latest ecclesiastical notable to arrive in the city.[223]

Cardinal Marcus of Constance was a one-time military man with important family ties: his mother Chiara de Medici had been the sister of the late pope Pius IV, and their sister Margharita was the mother of the reforming cardinal-archbishop of Milan, Charles Borromeo. Marcus was in Augsburg as an important Catholic functionary and papal administrator, but he was also there as a prince of the Empire. The Council of Princes would delegate the prince-bishop of Constance to participate in rather worldly matters associated with the reform of imperial legal procedures and he, as a member of the Vorarlberg nobility who ruled over a diocese with Alpine holdings, was also named to serve as a diplomat to the confederated cantons of Switzerland. This was part of the assembly's attempt to persuade the cantons' representatives (and those of other political units across Europe) to assist the Empire financially in the war against the Ottomans.[224] The cardinal-abbot was a prince-bishop, too, which meant that he had issues to discuss with the emperor and the assembly concerning the administration of his territory. These the emperor would put off, saying that he needed more details.[225]

A show of (political) force was somehow necessary in the face of the fairly-united or at least sizable contingent of Protestant nobles at the assembly. Now María and Elizabeth would see the churchmen of the southwestern Empire who were joining the papal representatives in the beginnings of their campaign to introduce reformed, post-Trent Catholicism. The representatives at the assembly who supported the Confession of Augsburg had been meeting regularly and debating both the general imperial proposition concerning religion as well as compiling complaints about violations of the 1555 peace agreement, as had the Catholic representatives. The records concerning the discussions of the former are more detailed and better preserved than those

[223] Bishop Otto also held credentials as the official representative of the prince-bishop of Trent (who at that time was also Administrator of the diocese of Brixen). Reichsabschied, *ibid.*, p. 1565.

[224] Report of the Electors and Princes Councils concerning unfinished business. 31 May, 1566. The bishop of Constance and Margrave Karl of Baden were to jointly participate in this undertaking. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 631.

[225] Emperor's Answer to the Complaints of the Catholic Estates. 26 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p.1250.

of the latter.[226] Already in April the Protestant lords and cities had composed and submitted a lengthy resolution detailing their position and complaints. A copy had been given to the Catholic representatives on 3 May.[227]

Empress María's banquet was held on the Fourth Sunday after Easter, the festival of Saints Nereus, Achilleus, Domitilla, and Pancratius, a series of Roman martyrs whose legends were told in the "Golden Legend" collection and whose fame was rather widespread in the period. The readings at Mass that morning probably would have been discussed by Empress María's daughters Elizabeth and Anna, as Vives and others instructed. The controversial Epistle of Saint James (Erasmus and Luther had both questioned its canonicity and the Council of Trent had declared its orthodoxy) which the girls may have heard read echoed other lessons the princesses had heard:

> And let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak, and slow to anger. For the anger of man worketh not the justice of God. Wherefore casting away all uncleanness, and abundance of naughtiness, with meekness receive the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls (James 1:19–21).[228]

The ongoing discussion of the Gospel of Saint John which characterized the Easter season continued that morning as well. Christ's words to His apostles had a question which could weigh on a young girl's thoughts: "And now I go to him that sent me, and none of you asketh me: Whither goest thou?" (John 16:5) The feast of the Ascension was only eleven days away, and the Saviour's time on earth was coming

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[226] Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1047: "Zu den Beratungen der katholischen Stände liegt kein vollständiges Protokoll vor." The Catholic Estates had met in the city hall on May Day, the day the Saxon electoral couple had given Empress María the horses and wagon, to establish a committee to hear and assemble complaints. The committee initially consisted of representatives of the archbishop of Salzburg, the duke of Bavaria, and the bishops of Augsburg, Worms, and Strasbourg. Count Karl von Zollern, Hereditary Imperial Chamberlain and Representative of the Swabian Counts and Lords, was to be asked to name a member to the committee to represent that group. The representative of the city of Cologne, one of the few Catholic cities in the Empire, was to be asked to nominate one or two members in the name of that group. Protokoll des Rates der katholischen Stände, 1 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 1169–1170.

[227] Resolution der CA-Stände an den Kaiser, approved 13 April, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 1183–1216.

[228] It is not possible with certainty to know if the standard readings associated with Pope Pius' 1570 Roman missal were read in this instance, but the likelihood that some earlier version of the Roman missal was used appears strong.

to an end. Where would He go? What was Heaven? Who was there? Elizabeth had been introduced to the concept of the Queen of Heaven and probably had a working image of the Other World that paralleled in many ways the one in which she lived. The comings and goings and workings of a *Reichstag* also allowed her insights into her hierarchical, defined and complex political world, too.

When contemplating the saints' festival that day, Archduchess Elizabeth would have been reminded that the young Saint Pancratius of Phrygia had been a boy reportedly about two years older than Elizabeth who converted to Christianity after moving to Rome. When confronted by the emperor and told to renounce his beliefs on the grounds that he was too young to really understand these matters, Pancratius saucily replied, the "Golden Legend" reported, "If I be a child of body yet mine heart is old, and by the virtue of my Lord Jesu Christ your threatening and menaces make me no more to move than doth the paintings that I see upon the wall…"[229] Pancratius was beheaded.

The legends associated with the other three saints venerated on 12 May were interrelated. A granddaughter of the emperor Vespasian, Flavia Domitilla, (who is also sometimes recalled as the niece of Emperor Domitian) reportedly was converted to Christianity through the efforts of two of her chamberlains, who in some accounts are eunuchs. Recognizing the virtues of virginity, she refused her pagan husband and was banished. Eventually, the three were martyred. The story was taken up by the now-famous Florentine playwright Antonia Pulci (who died in 1501) and served as the basis of one of her works. There were at least ten sixteenth-century editions of the play printed in the sixteenth century starting in 1515. The earliest surviving text dates from 1490. There seems to have been a revival of the work in the decade or so immediately preceding the 1566 *Reichstag*: versions were published in Florence in 1554, 1555, and 1561. Pulci's play ends with an angel addressing the audience:

> O, everyone who has considered well
> The sacred story of St. Domitilla,
> Thank Eternal Goodness for his grace,
> That he may teach you to find victory
> In this blind world where you are all involved…[230]

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[229] "Life of S. Pancrace," Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1910 edition and translation, Internet Medieval Source Book. (accessed 31.07.07).

[230] "The Play of Saint [Flavia] Domitilla," pp. 75–101 in Antonia Pulci, *Florentine Drama for Covent and Festival. Seven Sacred Plays*. James Wyatt Cook, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 1996). Here, p. 101.

The issues that attracted Pulci to the story may have attracted Elizabeth also: the story dealt with the key question of celibacy versus the married life, obviously an important question for the two young archduchesses Elizabeth and Anna whose names were currently being bandied about Europe's marriage market. In the "Golden Legend" version of Saint Domitilla's story, the two chamberlains preached to her of the virtues of virginity,

> they praised it much in shewing that it was nigh neighbor unto God, sister unto angels, cousin unto saints… And the woman that is married is subject to man, and is beaten with staves and fists in such wise that they be delivered of their children ere their time, deformed and lame…[231]

The physical strains of marriage and childbirth, the sickly infants, and the lack of independence which taking a husband entailed were all laid out in the legends associated with the saints festival Empress María, her daughters, and the other princesses at the *Reichstag* were celebrating at the banquet and dance that Sunday night in Augsburg. These themes were quite different than those presented in other aspects of the girl's education, whether in the private apartments or in the chivalric tournaments and epics to which they were exposed.

At the *Reichstag*, things seem to have come to a boil over this weekend of 11–12 May, despite the fancy costumed riders showing off their prowess lancing rings on Wine Market Square and Empress María's hospitality for the princesses present in the city. Or was it because of these events that lines were drawn more deeply and dramatic steps undertaken in the days that followed? The arrival of the duke of Mantua and the cardinal-bishop of Constance were not in and of themselves sufficient to explain the turn of events, but when combined with other political factors at the *Reichstag*, they created a circumstance where actions made sense and were taken. For example, on Friday and Saturday, the simmering complaints by nuns, monks, and the bishop of Worms concerning the actions of the elector palatine in his territories reached Emperor Maximilian.[232] Abbess Anna of Liebenau's complaint already discussed was made public on Friday, 10 May, and the assembly reported the following day that, unless

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[231] "Lives of Saints Nereus and Achilleus," de Voragine, *Golden Legend*.

[232] The tortured discussions concerning the prince-bishop of Worms' restitution claim against Elector Friedrich of the Palatinate are outlined and documented in Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1470–1479. Margrave Philibert of Baden, the recently-widowed brother-in-law of Elizabeth's aunt Anna, joined in the claim.

Elector Friedrich could marshal better arguments than he had to date, he would have to be publicly ordered to stop his innovations.

On Monday, as the princesses and princes at the assembly recovered from the previous long night of dancing (probably in the dancehall located in the middle of Wine Market Square right outside of the imperial apartments,) actions were taken concerning the various complaints of the abbesses of Niedermünster, Quedlinburg, and Remiremont. Elector August of Saxony's honor and position were even more on the line that morning after. Messy, violent, and long-standing feuds which had grown out of a legal dispute between the Frankish nobleman Wilhelm von Grumbach and the prince-bishop of Würzburg Melchior Zobel von Giebelstadt over twenty years before (and which had resulted in Bishop Melchior's murder) had led to the declaration of Grumbach and a number of his companions as Imperial Outlaws in 1563.[233] As High Marshall of the Empire, Elector August was responsible for executing this matter. It was a matter that many of the leading rulers in the Empire believed might lead to a more general gentry-level revolt which could threaten their predominant positions. It also directly concerned the Saxon elector's position in the Empire because Grumbach had received support and refuge from Duke Johann Friedrich II of Saxony, a relative who believed that his branch of the family should hold the electoral title, not August's.

Duke Johann Friedrich reportedly heard angels' voices telling him to pursue various rather risky or fantastic projects such as the pursuit of the imperial crown, the fomenting of a noble revolt in the Empire, or the assassination of his rival Elector August. After some delays (due partly to the fatal illness of Emperor Ferdinand) and consideration of pardoning Grumbach, Emperor Maximilian accepted a supplication of a number of the imperial estates presented at an audience on 23 March, the day the Augsburg *Reichstag* opened, and decided to repeat the declaration of Imperial Outlawry. This was done publicly in Augsburg on Monday, 13 May. That morning, the Hereditary Imperial Marshal Heinrich von Pappenheim read the imperial declaration aloud on the square in front of Archduchess Elizabeth's apartments. Before and after, nine trumpeters blew fanfares and drummers beat out their call to attention. Four imperial heralds rode before the marshal as he

[233] For the general background of this "Grumbachschen Händel," see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 121–127.

progressed to other locations around the city to repeat the ceremony. A version of the declaration was nailed to the door of the imperial apartments.[234]

The emperor was clearly flexing his muscles. In his first Imperial Assembly, he did not want to be seen as "soft" on troublemakers, whether old outlaws or new, radicalized Protestants. Here in Augsburg, site of the important and to his mind fundamental compromise of 1555 concerning religion and politics which was to serve as the legal foundation for his rule in the Empire, Emperor Maximilian laid down (or posted up) the law. Elizabeth saw and heard the outcome of her father's decision to prosecute Grumbach and his supporters: drummers and trumpeters, heralds and a marshal all appeared, as did an official document nailed to the door of her family's lodgings. She did not personally experience it, but the Catholic representatives, perhaps emboldened by the goings-on, met later that day and agreed upon a long and detailed response to the similarly long and detailed position paper circulated to the emperor and then the Catholic representatives starting on 25 April.[235]

Six o'clock Tuesday morning, 14 May, Elizabeth's father called the electors and princes present at the assembly to his quarters, together with the official representative of the absent elector of Brandenburg, but not including the subject of the meeting: the elector palatine. According to the report made by representatives of the duke of Württemberg, the emperor, via Imperial Vice Chancellor Zasius, told the assembled princes of the complaints of the bishop of Worms, Phillibert of Baden, and others, and that it had been reported to him, "in which ways His Electoral Grace [i.e. Palgrave Friedrich III] established a very seductive sect in his electoral principality."[236] He notified them of the order to desist which he was to issue and, according to the same report, "all the electors and princes, both clerical and secular, agreed

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[234] Augsburg City Chronicle, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 1500. The morning's ceremony was described in a report of various Saxon representatives dated Augsburg, 15 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, note 52. For the text of the posted declaration: *ibid.*, pp. 892–894. It differed from the printed version, published on *ibid.*, pp. 894–897. An order forbidding any assistance to the outlaws was also printed and dated the same day: pp. 897–898.

[235] The text of this response is printed in *ibid.*, pp. 1221–1243.

[236] "*welchermassen sein kfl, Gn. Ain seer verfierische sect in seinem churfurstenthumb angericht*." Text in record of Duke of Württemberg. *Ibid.*, p. 1089, note a. For the text of the emperor's decree: "Dekret des Kaisers gegen Kf. Friedrich von der Pfalz," pp. 1316–1319 in *ibid.*

to this decree."[237] At eight, the accused elector was allowed to join the meeting, where he protested the proceedings, particularly the fact that he had not yet been permitted to see the specifics of the charges levied against him.[238]

What did the women of the court, in their apartments located not far from these events, hear or see of them? The reports do not mention the presence of Empress María or any other women, so most likely their experience of the proceedings would have been second-hand, through the reports of the men who had been there such as Elizabeth's father, or one of her uncles dukes Albrecht, Guglielmo, or Wilhelm, or courtiers in service to some of these. An act of massing the political weight of the entire assembly against one of its members did not necessarily need the participation of the women of the court. Their roles as intercessors, recipients of supplications, and witnesses were more for other types of court business. The timing of Monday's declaration of outlawry and Tuesday's public warning to the elector palatine immediately following the Sunday night banquet and dance hosted by the empress for the princesses of the court at least leaves open the possibility of some informal influence on the course of events on the part of the recently-strengthened Catholic party with which the empress had clear affinity. As for the archduchess Elizabeth, she also would have learned of the limits of religious toleration prescribed by the Peace of Augsburg and her father: Calvinism was not within the legal limits set in 1555 and defended in 1566.

As the work of the assembly drew down following these dramatic events in mid-May, the delegates hashed out a rather tame reiteration of the compromise of the later 1550's. Knowing their relatively weak position, the representatives of the reformed Catholic cause chose to be satisfied with simply hindering the discussion of any type of general religious settlement and the legalization of freedom of religious choice in the Empire. The assembly's final document on the imperial proposition on religion stated that, even though unity in religion was wished for, because it had not yet been reached, "and also now this undertaking cannot be assisted," the settlement of 1555 as modified in 1557 at

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[237] *"Solliche decreta haben inen alle chur und Ff., gaystlich und weltlich, gevallen lassen."* Württemberg record, Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1089.

[238] Notes of the palgrave's oral response: "Mündlicher Vortrag Kf. Friedrichs von der Pfalz vor dem Kaiser," pp. 1319–1321 in *ibid.*

Regensburg and 1559 at Augsburg "should be ordered, kept, and truly implemented."[239] This settlement was to be "again confirmed, reinforced, and ordered followed, all at threat of penalty and punishment…."[240]

This was the general legal context of Archduchess Elizabeth's childhood in the Empire: a resigned acceptance of the (temporary) division of the Christian religious camp in two. The representatives of the "old catholic religion" thanked Emperor Maximilian in writing on 31 May for all he had done at the assembly, for his "true, fatherly, careful diligence," and reminded him that they could never agree to a separation of the issue of freedom of conscience from a general discussion of the Christian religion.[241] Elizabeth's father was relieved. He had gotten approval of financial support for the war and expressed his satisfaction with the course of events concerning the religious peace at his first *Reichstag* in a declaration he gave to both of the religious groups' caucuses on Sunday, 26 May. In it, he recommended that the affected parties continue "to avoid all heat and vehemence" in matters concerning religion,[242]

> …so that one on all sides and in all cases they use and keep such reason and propriety for which the constitution of the healing religious peace provides, sets and ordains various measures and information, by which then unnecessary circuitousness and bitterness between the higher and lower estates of both religions can be avoided, propitious and good will planted everywhere, the emotions in better and calmer understanding and true Christian love preserved, and in the future through the abundant grace of the All Mighty hopefully therefore the desired saving, common compromise concerning this highly damaging division can be advanced more quickly and easily.[243]

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[239] *"auch jeziger zeit disem werckh nit abgeholffen werden khann." "geordnet, gehalten und wirckhich volzogen werden soll."* "Antwort der Reichstände zum ersten Hauptartikel (Religion)…" Given to emperor on 22 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 728–740. Here, p. 729.

[240] *"widerumb confirmirt, bestettigt und zuhallten geboten werden," ibid.*

[241] "*allten catholischen religion,*" *"getreuen, vätterlichen, sorgfelltigen vleisses,"* Schlußresolution der katholischen Stände an den Kaiser, *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1258–1259.

[242] *"alle hitz unnd hefftigkhait umbganngen."* Antwort des Kaisers auf die Resolution der CA-Stände und die Gegenresolution der katholischen Stände, 26 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 1251–1258. Here, pp. 1252–1253.

[243] *"also das man sich allerseits und inn allen fallen der jhenigen beschaidenhait unnd glimpflichait gebrauchen und hallten thu, wie deßwegen die constitution deß hailsamen religion fridens lautere maß und nachrichtung gibt, setzt unnd ordnet, dardurch dann unnötige weitleufftigkhait unnd verbitterung zwischen hohen und nidern stennden beeder religionen abgeschnidten, genediger und gueter willen allenthalben gepflanntzt, die gemueter in desto besserem unnd gleichmessigerm verstanndt unnd wahrer*

The papal legate Commendone had called together the Catholic representatives for a meeting held in his apartments on Ascension Thursday, 23 May, a religious holiday of particular importance for the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It marked the day of Christ's departure from this earth, leaving behind humans to wait for His return (and organize worship and remembrance of Him in the meantime.)[244] Archbishop Daniel of Mainz and Archbishop Johann of Trier attended personally, as did various other archbishops, bishops, Catholic princes (such as those representing Austria and Burgundy), and representatives of some Catholic cities. The legate pressed the assembled to begin to implement the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Old Church caucus members answered that they knew they were to implement these decrees, but that it was "at the time still the most disadvantageous and dangerous" to do so, the archbishop of Cologne's representative reported.[245]

Elizabeth was growing up in a world where religious orientations were conditioned by political realities. The dust was in some ways still clearing and settling from the bitter fighting of the previous decade. The various parties in the Empire were working cautiously within the legal frameworks established over the course of the last few years. It is not clear how the pre-teen archduchess responded to this world, but it is clear that she was presented with numerous clear examples of important, tolerated Lutheran princes. Protestantism's legal existence could not have been a mystery to her.

Before the assembly closed at the end of May, Elizabeth had the opportunity to see two other important personages from the western reaches of the Empire as they made appearances with their courts at the Augsburg assembly. The same day that the legate Commendone was meeting with the Catholic estates members in his apartments, Empress María's cousin, the duke of Savoy Emmanuel Philibert, arrived in the city with a hundred men on horseback. The duke's late mother, the Portuguese princess Beatriz, had been Empress Isabel, María's mother's, sister. He was married to Dowager Queen Catherine of France's

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christlicher lieb erhalten unnd zukunfftiges durch die miltreiche gnadt deß Allerhöchsten verhoffenlich desto her und leichter die gewunschte hailwertige, gemaine vergleichung dises hochschedlichen zwispallts befurdert werden möge." Ibid., p. 1253.

[244] For more on the potential political significances of Ascension Thursday, see Joseph F. Patrouch, „Macht als Handlung: Sierning, Das Land ob der Enns, 29. Mai, 1629," *Frühneuzeit-Info* 7 (1996), pp. 18–24.

[245] "*noch zur zeit zum hohisten nachteilig und geferlich*," Rat der katholischen Stände bei Commendone, 23 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 1173–1174. Here, p. 1174.

sister-in-law Marguerite, showing the political situation of the duchy of Savoy, torn between Ibero-Habsburg ties on the one hand and French ones on the other (as might be expected given its location).

A long list of counts accompanied the duke, whose name had already come up on a number of occasions at the meetings of the Confession of Augsburg caucus.[246] There, reports were being received of the Emmanuel Philibert's harsh treatment of Protestants in his lands.[247] At their meeting on Sunday, 26 May, three days after the duke's appearance in the city for the recognition of his imperial fiefs such as the margravate of Montferrat (he also held titles such as Prince of Piedmont, Count of Geneva, and others), Duke August of Saxony suggested that the Protestant estates' representatives not only write the duke of Savoy concerning this matter, but approach him on the persecuted subjects' behalf while he was present in Augsburg.[248]

This "*Welsch*" prince of the Empire, the duke of Savoy, was of uncertain relationship to it: in the imperial tax registers his territory is listed, but it appears on the sheet of "uncertain" members, too. His supposed contribution was not insubstantial. On the latter list it appears as 60 horse and 277 foot.[249] Reportedly, he agreed voluntarily to support the upcoming military campaign in Hungary with 200 horsemen and 200 foot soldiers.[250] It was a rather modest price to pay for continued imperial recognition of his rights over the western Alpine territories he was trying to develop into a power base, balancing between the Empire and the kingdom of France and controlling some of the key Alpine passes to and from Italy.

The Protestants' letter-writing campaign in support of coreligionists in Savoy and elsewhere (including Lucca, Bavaria, Salzburg, and the Free Imperial City of Dinkelsbühl) included, as Elector August had suggested, a direct oral appeal to Duke Emmanuel Philibert while he was in Augsburg. The duke responded coolly, according to the caucus report of Wednesday, 29 May,

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[246] Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, pp. 114–115.

[247] See the minutes of their meetings held on 11 and 20 May, 1566: Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, pp. 1088 and 1125–1126.

[248] Minutes of meeting dated 26 May, 1566, *ibid.*, p. 1158.

[249] "*Welsche Fursten*," *ibid.*, p. 940. Savoy was the only territory so designated. The "*ungewisse*" list is on p. 949.

[250] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 796, note 13.

> …regarding the persons and people for whom you appeal, the aforementioned were evil people. And it also did not concern the Gospels, but they busied themselves to act against old statutes and customs, and to do so under the appearance of religion. Therefore His Princely Grace had to have them punished.[251]

This was a common defense utilized by princes in the period. It was a defense that the French king Charles and his mother would make and had made, for example, when it came to defending royal policies against the Protestant minority in his kingdom. It was a relatively effective gambit: foreign lords would be careful about supporting rebellion.

The duke of Savoy attended the public reading of the *Reichstag*'s final document held on Thursday, 30 May and then was formally recognized as in possession of his imperial fiefs and rights in a ceremony held the next day, a type of ceremony typical for this assembly and one at which Archduchess Elizabeth may have been present. This was a big day for such ceremonies: not only did her rather distant cousin, Duke Emmanual Philibert participate in one, but, probably more impressive to the young princess, in a separate ceremony so did the burghers of the Free City of Augsburg. Her education was proceeding apace: over the last few months in the city Elizabeth had witnessed dukes and knights, and now citizens, all participating in the rituals of mutually-accepted power. She had heard talk of supplications and had seen tournaments, attended banquets, and danced.

The happy Spring days, however, would now end, even as the princes and princesses, politicians and lawyers in the city began to take their leaves and stream out of Augsburg in processions much less ostentatious than those which had marked their entrances in the weeks and months before. Word arrived by messenger not of new troop movements in the Balkans, but of yet another sibling's death: baby Karl joined Elizabeth's two little sisters Maria and her brother Friedrich. Karl had not yet reached his first birthday. Mourning rituals began again.

There was one more impressive court to arrive in Augsburg in those waning days of the assembly. On Friday, 31 May, Elizabeth's aunt Duchess Margarete of Parma and her entourage appeared for

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[251] *"Soviel aber die personen und leut, Darfur sy bethen, betreff, wern das solche bose leuthe. Und es auch nit des evangelii halben zethun, sonder sy bevlissen sich, wider allte statuta und herkohmen zehandlen, und solchs underm schein der religion. Das dan sein f. Gn. Straffen lassen musste…."* Protokoll des Rates der CA-Stände, 29 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, pp. 1161–1165. Here, pp. 1164–1165.

a brief Pentecost Weekend visit. With 200 horse, her retinue was no doubt stately. Two countesses, five named ladies, and eleven ladies-in-waiting traveled with the forty-four year-old Margarete on a trip from the Low Countries to her possessions in Italy.[252] This one-time regent of Florence had been named by her half brother, Elizabeth's uncle King Philip of Spain, to be his representative in the complicated Burgundian possessions he had gained as part of the deal between Elizabeth's grandfathers Charles and Ferdinand.

Margarete's second marriage was to Ottavio Farnese, the duke of Parma who Elizabeth had seen in action in the festivities surrounding her parents' coronations in Bratislava. Their son Alessandro had been brought up at King Philip's court, much like Elizabeth's brothers Rudolf and Ernst, at least partly to guarantee the reliability of the future generation for the *Casa d'Austria*, but obviously with effects on the parents' generation. Opposition to King Philip's policies as well as the increasing influence of Protestant leaders in certain of the territories of the Low Countries were making it an increasingly-difficult place to rule. The women of the imperial court at Augsburg surely had much to discuss concerning the goings-on in Duchess Margarete's territories during the few days she visited. She would also provide Archduchess Elizabeth with an example of an important woman ruler whose position was different from that of a consort such as her mother or most of the other female notables at the assembly.

There were still some loose ends to be considered as the court began to pack up and prepare for the journey back into Austria. The French ambassador, Bochetel, for example, had reappeared in Augsburg after a three-month absence, still insisting on some type of final decision in reference to his king's marital future.[253] The French side had apparently tried to move things along by the tried-and-true tactic of setting a deadline, but the international situation (and Elizabeth's uncle Philip) did not give in. The Spanish ambassador Chantonnay reported that it appeared to him that Maximilian was slow to finalize any agreement for fear of upsetting the members of the *Reichstag* who were pressing for more action on "recouping" the (in)famous three lost cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Others felt, he reported, that in this time

[252] Mameranus, *verzeychnus*, p. 122.
[253] Report of Venetian ambassador Contarini to Doge, Augsburg, 1 June, 1566. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 321–322.

of war with the Ottomans there were plenty of people in the Empire who would look unfavorably on the marriage of an imperial princess to a prince whose kingdom had been so close to the Ottomans in the past.[254] It was not good salesmanship on the imperial party's part to on the one hand harangue the delegates in Augsburg about the necessity of having a united front against "the Turk" while establishing intimate relations with an ally of the enemy.

Elizabeth and her family left Augsburg on Pentecost Monday for the rather quick boat trip down the Lech and Danube Rivers to Vienna. An imperial order had been issued to all the bridge tenders along the way to keep their bridges up until the flotilla passed.[255] The court arrived back in Vienna on 8 June, almost six months after they had left the imperial capital.

[254] *Ibid.*, p. 321, n. 4.

[255] Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1502, note 58. Order dated Augsburg, 21 May, 1566.

CHAPTER FOUR

WARS AND WEDDINGS ON THE HORIZON

Empress María's family was reunited in Vienna in June, 1566 (with the exception of the two elder sons in Spain). Archduke Matthias, now nine, had served as head of the little court of archdukes while the rest of the family was gone. As in 1563 when he had been six and his brother Friedrich had passed away, he had to experience the death of a little brother while his parents and older siblings were on the road off in the Empire for months. With baby Karl's death, the archdukes' court was again down to four: Matthias, his seven-and-a-half year-old brother Maximilian, his six-and-a-half year-old brother Albrecht, and his brother Wenzel who had just turned five. If there were any mothering instincts awakening in the two older sisters, they may have been touched by the stoic boys who had been left behind in the increasingly-frantic capital where war preparations were at a fevered pitch and news of the enemy's approach daily discussed.

Things seemed to be going pretty well with the preparations for the upcoming war. The fortifications were prepared, the Imperial Assembly had agreed to provide financial support, and reports from the battlefield were positive. Imperial troops had advanced in early July and captured the western Hungarian episcopal seat of Veszprém.[1] A successful attack on the castle at Tata not far from Komárno was also reported. There were disturbing developments, too, however. A contemporary pamphlet's description of the successful actions around the city of Gyula in the southeast near Transylvania pointed out that while the enemy had temporarily withdrawn, now they were back and had opened a breach in the wall wide enough for two wagons to drive through. "The Christians within are defending themselves in a knightly way. God grant them aid," the title page went on.[2]

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[1] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 25.

[2] *"die Christen darinn wehren sich Ritterlich/ Gott wöll inen beystehen." Zeyttung/ Wie vorbewust/ so ist der Türckische Oberst/ von der Statt Jula abgezogen*…(1566). Neméth, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 3, p. 785, Nr. 2332.

Maximilian's marriage strategy was paying off: Elizabeth's uncles in Ferrara and Florence had followed the lead of their brother-in-law Guglielmo in Mantua and promised financial or military support for the upcoming campaign.[3] Uncle Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara was even intent on participating personally. Elizabeth probably celebrated her twelfth birthday in the castle in Vienna in a generally optimistic context: had not the imperial troops acquitted themselves well in the fighting of the last year and more?

As he had earlier around *Mardi Gras* when the first reports of Ottoman troop movements reached the court, Emperor Maximilian chose partly to respond to the threat on a moral level, holding each subject responsible for praying and behaving properly as part of an overall strategy of defense. In Augsburg, he had outlawed the final partying associated with the end of the pre-Lenten season, effectively moving the penitential season up a few days in support of the imperial military cause. Now, in July, he targeted the schoolboys in the city for regulation, ordering them to perform only approved German songs as they walked the streets singing for their suppers. "No other songs than those that have been approved in print by Their Majesties and would be used in connection with Their Majesties' sermons" read the decree.[4] Ribald drinking songs and songs of questionable theological status were forbidden in an attempt to garner favor with God.

The official mustering of the emperor's personal cavalry troops occurred in the nearby Prater hunting preserve on 29 July. The unit was under the honorary command of the 24-year-old duke Johann Friedrich of Pomerania, who ceremonially received the imperial standard. He had at his side Imperial Lord High Steward Leonard von Harrach who probably was more responsible for the raising, training, and supervising of the unit, which numbered 1,200 men.[5]

The Pomeranian duke had been at the imperial court since the previous Fall and had accompanied it to Augsburg. There he had played substantial ceremonial and political roles. He had been active in the

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[3] Uncle Alfonso offered 1,000 cavalry and Uncle Francesco 3,000 soldiers. Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, p. 796, note 13.

[4] "*Khain Andere gesang als wie das auß bevelch Irer Mtt. In druckh gegeben, Unnd beÿ Irer Mtt. Predig gebraucht würdt*," Imperial Order dated Vienna, 8 July, 1566. DAW, WP 5, ff. 364v–365r.

[5] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 25. The Venetian ambassador Contarini reported to the Doge concerning the duke of Pomerania. Report dated Vienna, 1 Aug., 1566. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 329–333.

deliberations of the Council of Princes and had been one of the secular delegates to the committee charged with debating the financial levies to support the war.[6] Now, he was putting his body on the line.

The duke and his representative had also unsuccessfully tried to advance solutions to the war in the Baltic which was affecting the northern German territories and distracting attention and resources from the threat in the southeast.[7] Duke Johann Friedrich (who later would earn the nickname "the Strongest,") had ridden into Augsburg close by the emperor back in January. Now again he would be at Maximilian's side as the troops rode into the war zone. His strong advocacy of the orthodox Lutheran position in the Protestant caucus and its discussion of the ideas and activities of the elector palatine probably also endeared him to his patron Elizabeth's father.[8] The nomination of the young duke, the son of a Saxon princess, to head the emperor's personal cavalry squadron served to demonstrate the ecumenical Christian nature of the enterprise against the Ottomans. Here on the front lines the divisions between Catholics and Protestants did not matter.[9]

The theme of a united Christian front was picked up in the print media back in the rest of the Empire. For example, Hans Lufft published an 87-leaf booklet dedicated to General Schwendi in which he assembled an appropriate selection from Martin Luther's writings. He titled it *Concerning War Against the Turks* and used the quotations to show that the father of the Protestant movement was on the imperial side concerning this issue.[10] The course of the war in Hungary resulted in the publication of many pamphlets with news. These inexpensive works often consisted of only three or four leaves and were manufactured in Nuremberg or Augsburg. Stories about the Ottoman siege of the important fortress at Szigetvár were particularly popular. The

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[6] Fürstenratsprotokoll, 29 March, 1566. Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, pp. 549–552. Here, p. 551. He is listed as having attended both the opening ceremonies and the closing ceremonies of the assembly, one of the few representatives in Augsburg to do so: p. 169 and vol. 2, p. 1509.

[7] Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, p. 554, note 1 and 760, note 10; vol. 2, p. 906, note 1.

[8] Protokoll des Rates der CA-Stände, 17 April, 1566. Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 2, p. 1073; 17 May, 1566: p. 1099; 23 May, 1566: p. 1142.

[9] Duke Johann Friedrich's mother was Marie, the daughter of Elector Johann of Saxony and his wife Margarete of Anhalt.

[10] Hans Lufft, *Vom Kriege Wider den Türcken* (1566), cited in Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 3, p. 386, Nr. 1143.

Habsburg commander there, Count Nikola Zrinski of Croatia, whom Elizabeth may well have remembered from the large role he played in the Hungarian coronation ceremonies and celebrations three years before, was elevated to the status of a hero as he and the troops under his command held out for weeks in the face of the Ottoman onslaught, slowing down the main army's approach. This allowed more time for the defenses to be arrayed and forces assembled and recalled the successful defense of Malta the year before. Pamphlet titles included *News Excerpt written from Vienna concerning how the Turk besieged the city of Szigetvár…*[11]

In late July and into August Emperor Maximilian was playing it safe. He cautiously awaited the arrival of as many troops as possible, not wanting to risk the sizable army that he was assembling before it was at full strength. The commanders were reckoning with a total force of 30,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, making it one of the largest imperial forces raised to date on the eastern front. Observers particularly commented on the large ratio of cavalry to infantry—and the quality of the cavalry, which was not composed simply of mercenaries or local irregulars as was often the case in that theater.[12]

Elizabeth's uncle Archduke Ferdinand arrived with his personal troop of six hundred horsemen on 9 August. He had been supervising the mustering of the Bohemian troops which he would command. But the emperor still waited, wanting "actionable" intelligence concerning the plans of his old but still formidable adversary Sultan Suleiman.[13] Would the enemy head south or north of the Plattensee?

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[11] *Ausszug etlicher newer zeitung/ aus Wien geschrieben/ wie der Türck die Stadt Zigeth/belegert…* (1566), Németh, *Ungarische Drucke*, vol. 1, p. 28, Nr. 80; see also p. 29, Nr. 81.

[12] For the details of the war, see "Summarischer gemeiner Bericht vonn dem Anno 66. Biss Inn das 67 verloffnenn Hungerischen Kriegswesenn, Wider den Erb Veind" in Koch, Quellen, pp. 86–109. On the mustering of the "Hoffanen," see Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 25. On the positive evaluation of the army: Eduard Wertheimer, "Zur Geschichte des Türkenkrieges Maximilians II. 1565–1566," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 53 (1875), pp. 43–101. Here, p. 86. For a description of the Hungarian defenses and the effects of their construction on the kingdom's urban development and episcopate (which suffered a loss of political influence due to the military's role and presence), see Gecsényi, "Ungarische Städte." Estimates of the total size of the imperial army vary. Koch estimates 80,000 infantry and 25,000 cavalry: Koch, *Quellen*, p. 105, note.

[13] On the command of Archduke Ferdinand and the arrival of 3,000 cavalry from the Empire which were then bivouacked near Olomouc: Contarini to Doge, Vienna, 20 June, 1566. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 324–325. The sultan was 72 years old.

If south, then Wiener Neustadt was threatened. If north along the Danube, Vienna was clearly again in the sultan's sights. The main body of imperial troops was assembling near the fortress city of Komárno further down the river. General Schwendi was charged with countering the enemy's movements further east, where tens of thousands of Ottoman troops with Tatar auxiliaries were on the attack. To the south, the Styrian border defended by thousands of troops under the command of Elizabeth's uncle Archduke Karl was also vulnerable.

Empress María, Archduchess Elizabeth, her sister, and four little brothers could "only" watch and pray as the war preparations continued. Perhaps partly to raise morale across the Empire and also in the minds of one-time participants and observers, the Frankfurt printer Raben republished a curious history of imperial tournaments. Written by Georg Rüxner earlier in the century and dedicated to Archduke Ferdinand, the book detailed 37 tournaments which had been held dating back to the reign of Henry I "the Fowler," the theoretical medieval founder of the current version of the Empire, and ending with a tournament of Bavarian knights held in Regensburg in 1487.[14] Rüxner explained that tournaments had been brought to the Empire "…to instill all honorable virtues, knightly practice, and manly deeds, to root out all disgracefulness and vice."[15] Everyone was to remember that tournaments were more than entertainment, they were training for warfare. The knights now assembling by the thousands around Vienna, Bratislava, Olomouc, and Komárno were well prepared for the challenges they were to face, the argument implicitly ran. The Venetian ambassador was reporting that volunteers from France, Burgundy and Italy were arriving in the imperial camps daily.[16]

Women participated at the origins of the imperial tournament back in the day of Henry I in the tenth century, according to Rüxner. He described how at the banquets afterwards it was women who awarded the trophies, and he even included an emperor's daughter in the description of the festivities held after the first tournament described: "Following one began to dance and the first dance was given to Duke

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[14] Georg Rüxner, *Thurnier Buch. Von Anfang, Ursachen, ursprung, und herkommen/ der Thurnier im heyligen Römischen Reich Teutscher Nation*…. (Frankfurt/Main, 1566).

[15] *"…zu pfantzung aller ehrbarn tugenden/ Ritterlichen ubung/ Mannlicher thaten/ zu außreutung aller schand und laster…"* (p. ii).

[16] Contarini to Doge, Vienna, 20 June, 1566. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 324–325.

Arnold of Bavaria with the emperor's daughter."[17] In 1566, the emperor's daughter Elizabeth and others were being reminded that when they had participated as observers, prize awarders, and dance partners at the tournaments, they had been participating in the preparation of warriors. Elizabeth could remember various such roles, such as at the Vienna Festival of 1560 or in Prague, Frankfurt, Bratislava, and Augsburg. Hopefully, the knights' preparation would now stand the test of battle. The Ottoman army approached.

Finally, on 13 August, Elizabeth's father and uncle, the emperor and archduke, left Vienna for the growing encampment at Magyaróvár on the road between Vienna and the Hungarian plain. As the courtier Khevenhüller described, they, "had many well-fitted and stately warriors on horseback and on foot."[18] Elizabeth and her family probably watched the column with a mixture of pride and anxiety as the men marched out of the city. At twelve years of age she was just old enough to know the difference between the play combat they had so often witnessed in the past and the possible consequences of the real thing toward which her father was riding. Her older sister Anna by her side surely could imagine the difference even better.

Elizabeth's organ teacher Guillaume Formellis was busy doing his part in supporting the war effort and developing an image of the warrior emperor. In an important collection of over 250 motets, mostly by composers from the Low Countries in service to the Habsburgs, Formellis published his work "Arma manuscque dei."[19] The collection was dated 1566 and dedicated to the three brothers, Emperor Maximilian, Archduke Ferdinand, and Archduke Karl. The lyrics of the motet give further evidence of the intellectual and cultural worlds in which the archduchess Elizabeth was growing up:

> Armed host of God, Caesar, venerable might, conquer, come and see what thy star relates: 'In this sign wilt thou triumph,' it says, 'and victorious wilt thou return and at last find thy kingdom prepared for thee.'…For if your standards can withstand the fiery sun, see then if the pale moon yields before them.[20]

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[17] *"Darauff man darnach anfieng zu tantzen/ und gab man den ersten Tantz Hertzog Arnolden von Beyern mit deß Keisers Tochter."* Rüxner, *Thurnierbuch*, p. xxix.

[18] *"Vil wolputzt stattlich Kriegsvolk zu Roß und fueß gehabt."* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 25.

[19] Giovanelli, *novus thesaurus musicus*, vol. 1, p. xv, Nr. XXIII. The music is found in vol. 2, pp. 181–192.

[20] *Ibid.*

The connections made by Formellis between the earlier emperor Constantine (to whose story the quotation makes reference), Maximilian, the Christian religion, and the Ottoman foe referenced by the image of the pale moon show how Elizabeth was being taught music by a man with a very specific repertoire of references tied both to both Christian and Classical history.[21]

Elizabeth and her brother Matthias chose not to sit idly by while their father and uncle were in the field. They undertook a pilgrimage to the Marian shrine of Mariazell in Styria in the weeks following the imperial troops' departure, arriving there on the Festival of Saint Bartholomew, August 24.[22] It is possible that Elizabeth had already been exposed to this sacred site with ties to the Benedictine abbey of Saint Lambrecht while she lived in Wiener Neustadt. That castle town was not too far away. In 1399 Pope Boniface IX had granted the church an indulgence for pilgrims who visited it between August 22 and 29, a period after the Festival of the Assumption, one of the great Marian feasts. Various Hungarian and Moravian rulers and Habsburgs had visited the site in the past. Tradition said that the Moravian margrave Henry and his wife had had been led to the site by Saint Václav in the early thirteenth century and that the popularity of the pilgrimage as well as the church dated from their visit. That tradition was illustrated in a relief over the church's west portal showing the pair being led by the saint. They were healed of their gout.

Elizabeth's great aunt, Queen Mary of Hungary and Bohemia, had visited Mariazell twice with her husband King Louis II in the years before the disastrous defeat at the hands of the Ottomans in 1526. They had donated their wedding clothes to the church. Once, Queen Mary had prayed to her patroness for aid during a storm on the Rhine River. In gratitude for being saved from the storm she took the pilgrimage to Mariazell. That story was depicted on the large painted

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[21] For the general background on Habsburg imperial motets from the 1440–1550, a period which the author calls "the heyday of the great Franco-Flemish school of composers," (p. 484), see Louise E. Cuyler, "The Imperial Motet: Barometer of Relations Between Church and State," pp. 483–496 in Heiko A. Oberman and Charles Trinkaus, eds., *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion* (Leiden, 1974).

[22] Peter Wiesflecker, "Die Habsburger und Mariazell," pp. 41–53 in Walter Brunner, et al., eds., *Mariazell und Ungarn. 650 Jahre religiöse Gemeinsamkeit* (Graz, 2003). Here p. 36. For general background, see also Laura Lynne Kinsey, *The Habsburgs at Mariazell: Piety, Patronage and Statecraft, 1620–1760* (Dissertation, UCLA, 2000).

altarpiece, the so-called "Miracle Altar," which detailed various miracles associated with the site.[23]

Mariazell was particularly well known as a pilgrimage site connected to prayers against the Ottomans. King Louis I of Hungary had visited in the fourteenth century asking for God's intercession in this matter. The king's victory was depicted in the "Miracle Altar" with a painting of the Hungarian army miraculously defeating an Ottoman force supposedly four times its size. This victory is also depicted in the fifteenth-century sculpture over the main portal of the church, together with busts of the king and his wife, Queen Elizabeth. Archduchess Elizabeth and her brother Matthias had clear depictions of that for which they prayed: a great victory of their father's army over the "faithless" enemy. They may have also thought a bit about another image in the sculpture: the exorcism of a fourteenth-century child murderer.

Before departing the Styrian mountainside, the children had most likely added to their supplications to the Virgin a prayer or two to the patron of its neighboring chapel dedicated to Saint Michael, a martial archangel who may have seemed a useful aid to the benevolent, mantled Madonna to whom the pilgrims' primary petitions were addressed. As they made their way back down along the traditional pilgrimage route between Mariazell and Vienna, they may also have had in their minds the various horrific images of "the Turk" which had been created and used to sell pamphlets and justify defense expenditures. There were reports that the Ottomans' Tatar auxiliaries were even worse: by early September, the official report on the campaign later detailed, the Tatars were advancing up the Tisza River valley, plundering everything they could reach and even eating people: "Among them some at times did not shy from eating young, fat people, and also sometimes young children, and they used the breasts of young women as their best delicacy to eat."[24]

After the two children, Elizabeth and Matthias, reached the fortified capital and were again safely within Vienna's walled confines, they heard news good and bad. The happy news was that on 12 August

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[23] Gerhard Jaritz, "Der grosse Mariazeller Wunderaltar," pp. 61–68 in Brunner, *Mariazell und Ungarn*.

[24] *"Neben dem das Ieren einstheils nit schewe gehabt, vonn Jungen feisten menschen Personen zu essenn, wie auch die Jungen Kinder einstheils vnnd die prüst de Jungen weibsbilder sie zur besten cöstlichkheit Ierer speiss geprauchte."* 1567 report to Circle captains assembled at Erfurt. Koch, *Quellen*, p. 99.

Elizabeth's aunt in Spain had safely delivered a new baby daughter, Isabella Clara Eugenia. Now, years after the wedding, the young Spanish queen Elisabeth had proven able to produce children. This was of central importance because the royal heir Carlos was behaving ever more erratically and rumors were that he would not be able to fulfill his function as the next King of Spain. As Carlos went, so went the fortunes of the two archduchesses in Vienna. If he were marriageable, the honor went to Anna. If not, all bets were off.

The other news was more disturbing. Riots and looting were reported to have broken out in Elizabeth's aunt Margarete's territories in the Low Countries in the days around the debated festival of the Assumption. Iconoclastic mobs had sacked hundreds of churches and defiled sacred spaces. The discontent with the Burgundian regime which had simmered in Augsburg had burst into the streets in the cities and towns of King Philip's rich but ornery northern inheritance. Given the timing, with tens of thousands of imperial troops in the field preparing for battle against the "hereditary enemy of Christendom," the actions of the mobs out west could only have been seen at Empress María's court as heretical aiding and abetting of the enemy.

The reports from the Low Countries also have to be considered in light of Elector August of Saxony's explanation for his non-participation in the Hungarian campaign. According to the Venetian ambassador in a report of 18 July, Imperial Marshall August was too busy dealing with the machinations of the outlawed Grumbach to participate in the campaign against the Ottomans.[25] This gentryman's ability to cause trouble behind the lines was only too clear, particularly when his relatively powerful allies such as the duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony are taken into account. Was there a "fifth column" at work supporting the enemy? This was a question that probably was at least in some people's minds in Elizabeth's environment that Summer.

These setbacks notwithstanding, contingents of new troops were constantly arriving in Vienna or the imperial camp. Elizabeth would have seen or at least heard of the arrival on 1 September of the debonair young brother of the French king, the fifteen-year old duke of Anjou, at the head of 800 cavalrymen.[26] The Venetian ambassador reported that Anjou had gone first to the field to report to the emperor, but then

[25] Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 333, note 1.
[26] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 25.

went back to Vienna to refit his troops and prepare for battle.[27] It is not unimaginable that the duke paid a courtesy call to the empress and her family at the *Hofburg*. His brother Charles may have also wanted a first-hand report concerning the two archduchesses. Here at last was evidence in the form of hundreds of riders that the French crown was moving from its previous controversial policy of benevolent neutrality if not outright alliance when it came to the Ottomans. Anjou's participation may also have been a calculated play by the regent Catherine de Medici, reminding the slow-moving Habsburgs of her wish to reach some agreement on the marriage matter her ambassadors had been so often discussing. Her intentions were real and her will good.

The French contingent was not the only one to join the fray in the early days of September, 1566. In his diary, the courtier Khevenhüller reported of the arrival of two other significant contingents during these days of expectation. On 2 September, the palgrave Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, who had played such a memorable role at the Augsburg assembly earlier in the year, and the palgrave Reichard, the brother of the controversial elector palatine, reached the growing imperial camp between Györ and Komárno with 500 horsemen. Within a week, Elizabeth's uncle Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, arrived as he had promised. He brought in his train many fine Italian noblemen as well as, and perhaps more importantly, 800 lancers.[28]

By 10 September, news had reached the emperor of the fall of Szigetvár. Elizabeth and her family in Vienna found out two days later. The hero Zrinski was no more. Khevenhüller wrote in is diary that Zrinski "had defended himself and died as a faithful servant of the lords of Austria and as an able knight."[29] What the emperor, his staff, and the family back in Vienna did not know was that shortly before the defeat of the Habsburg garrison in Szigetvár the sultan had died among his besieging troops. That word took longer to reach Maximilian. The Venetian ambassador reported informing the emperor of the fact almost seven weeks later, on 28 October.[30]

The next few weeks were anxious ones, both for the two girls and four boys back in Vienna with the empress and for the emperor out

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[27] Contarini report dated 15 Aug., 1566. Turba, *Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 332, note 2.

[28] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, pp. 25–26.

[29] *"hat sich gewehrt und ist als ein treuer der herrn von Osterreich diener und wie ain redlicher rittergestorben,"* (p. 26).

[30] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 361, note 3.

in the unhealthy Danube Valley encampments where, Khevenhüller recorded, many were dying of diseases and nothing much was being done against the enemy.[31] Disagreements were growing between the various leaders and among the troops. The Venetian ambassador reported that Ottoman prisoners were informing their captors that the sultan planned to press the assault for three years, an unimaginable strain on the already-stretched capacities of the Habsburg defensive system.[32] Work was continuing in Vienna on the fortifications, so Elizabeth would have witnessed each day the coerced and voluntary laborers straining to fill the gaps in the bastions and fortification system around her. The new defensive technologies required massive amounts of bricks and labor to counter the cannons' effects. Those cannons may have sounded triumphant when the archduchess had rolled into cities during the last few years, but now the memory of those sounds could have awakened new feelings.

As it became clear that the main Ottoman army was beginning to withdraw, the imperial army began to melt away. Archduke Ferdinand fell ill and left camp on 15 October. By now the emperor had received reliable intelligence concerning the enemy's retreat. Khevenhüller was sent off on a diplomatic mission to Spain to congratulate Queen Elisabeth and her husband King Philip on the birth of the *infanta* Isabella. First he returned to the court in Vienna. He left for Spain on 23 October and would arrive at the royal court there a month later. After bickering between the various national units in the imperial army, each went their separate ways. It was reported that by the time the emperor returned to Vienna in late October, only a few thousand troops accompanied him.[33]

What was the archduchess Elizabeth to take from this anxiety-producing, but ultimately happily-concluded experience in Fall, 1566? The specific tactical and strategic questions about when and where and if Emperor Maximilian should have moved his troops were probably not that important to her. In the end, the sultan was dead and the enemy troops were withdrawing. That was evidence of some type of success. Her prayers had been answered.

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[31] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 27.
[32] Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 357, note 4.
[33] *Ibid*., p. 375, note 1.

Despite continued hostilities in the eastern parts of the theater of operations, peace generally settled into Hungary following the dramatic events of the summer and fall of 1566. There were of course raids and counter-raids, small incursions and reasons for anger from both sides of the border, but the new sultan, Selim II, who would rule for the next eight years, seemed willing to negotiate an end to the full-scale war which had developed following Emperor Ferdinand's death. By early 1568, a treaty had been signed at the old Ottoman capital of Edirne which established an eight-year truce. This peace would be renewed periodically and would hold for the rest of Archduchess Elizabeth's life.[34]

The peaceful scene on the Hungarian front was a welcome change. The restrained position of the sultans meant that the position of the rulers out in Transylvania was weakened. "King" John II would soon have to negotiate some type of power-sharing deal with the Habsburgs in Vienna, and now it seemed to the powerful eastern Hungarian nobles that ties to neighboring Poland-Lithuania might be part of a better diplomatic strategy than ties to the distant and distracted Ottoman rulers. From the perspective of Vienna, appeasing the maverick Transylvanian princes with offers of Habsburg daughters also seemed less attractive as diplomatic policy. For all of Archduchess Elizabeth's life, Hungary and the Ottomans had played large roles. Now, peace in the east meant attention could be turned to the west.

Daily life in Vienna

For the next three years Empress María and her court lived most of the time in Vienna. By this time, her sister-in-law Queen Katherina of Poland had finally been allowed to return, so for almost exactly a year, Vienna was home to both an empress and a queen, the first now 38, the second 33 years old. Court etiquette would have had to be adjusted, and the precedence of empresses over queens detailed.

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[34] The peace was negotiated in part by Bishop Antun Vrančić, who had participated in María and Maximilian's coronation at Bratislava five years before. He would be rewarded for his service with the Archbishopric of Esztergom after the death of Miklós Oláh. Birnbaum, *Humanists*, p. 238. In this capacity, Vrančić would later crown María's son Rudolf as King of Hungary.

Elizabeth would have heard stories about the Polish realm and experienced the discomfort and distress of the sick queen.

By late Summer or early Fall, 1566, news was also out at court concerning the latest pregnancy of Empress María. With the experience of the deaths of three infant siblings over the course of the last four years, it would not be surprising if Elizabeth heard the news of her mother's pregnancy with some apprehension. Was the atmosphere also affected by the striking contrast between the situations of María and her sister-in-law Katharina? María was preparing for her thirteenth baby. Katharina had been sent away from Poland because of her inability to have one. Elizabeth was entering puberty in these years. She may have wondered about her own body's generative powers as she experienced it changing. There of course had also been many discussions, it must be assumed, at the court relating to the case of Elizabeth's aunt Elisabeth of Spain who had married at fourteen but did not give birth to a live baby (Elizabeth's cousin Isabella Clara Eugenia) until 1566 when she was the ripe old age of 21.

The records concerning the situation in Vienna in the late 1560's are rather good. Immediately after his return from the Hungarian front, Elizabeth's father Emperor Maximilian had ordered another inventory of the housing stock in the city for reference in case of future quartering needs. He was also beginning an inventory and review of the various ecclesiastical instances in the city and elsewhere in his hereditary lands Below and Beyond the Enns. This process led to the establishment of a Council on Religious Houses (*Klosterrat*) which would get him into some conflicts with the papacy.[35] The results of these bureaucratic undertakings included more detailed records concerning home ownership in the city, property administration practices among the religious houses, and other matters.

The Court Quartering Books (*Hofquartierbücher*) drawn up by the High Court Marshall's subordinate, the Court Quartermaster, have been used to generate much information, both spatial and social, about the city in which Elizabeth was living as she became a teenager.[36]

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[35] Joseph F. Patrouch, "The Investiture Controversy Revisited: Religious Reform, Emperor Maximilian II, and the Klosterrat," *Austrian History Yearbook* 25 (1994), pp. 59–77.

[36] Much of the following is drawn from Ernst Birk, "Materialien zur Topographie der Stadt Wien in den Jahren 1563 bis 1587," *Berichte und Mitteilungen des Alterthumsvereins zu Wien* 10 (1866), pp. 79–164.

There are a few hints about the life of Elizabeth at Empress María's court which can be gleamed from these records. They are also useful to establish patterns of matters such as female property ownership in the city. In general, it can be said that there was a marked spatial aspect to the social differentiation of the Vienna population in this period. The area around the *Hofburg* castle where the female members of the court lived was almost exclusively noble. Courtiers congregated in the district, particularly in the houses across the gardens from the castle and all along the old Roman road, Lords Alley (*Herrengasse*), which ran from Saint Michael's Square near the new *Stallburg* out toward the Benedictine monastery known as Scots Abbey (*Schottenstift*).

This means that it was unlikely that the women of María's court would have had much contact with the burghers of the city. Not only were the ladies sequestered in the women's quarters of the castle, but the castle was situated on the walls of the city and surrounded to the interior side by nobles' houses. There is some reason to believe that from time to time María and her daughters may have been at the cathedral or another of the churches in town (although this is rarely documented), but even then she would have been in the newer, more ecclesiastical parts of town rather than in the old patrician-run City proper. The university was far away from the women's quarters as well. They probably never ventured into its hallowed halls.

The 1566 quartering inventory reveals that the empress had her own kitchen facilities located near the castle.[37] This implies that Elizabeth's culinary world was more connected to her mother than one might expect; the castle kitchen was apparently reserved for the emperor. The separation not only of staffs which is apparent in the lists of court officials but of entire kitchens shows much about the distinguished world in which the young archduchess was growing into womanhood. A number of the Spanish nobles who played such large roles in the court of Empress María such as her High Steward Francisco Lasso de

[37] *Ibid*., p. 99. This separate kitchen was apparently closed down in August, 1582 after the widowed empress returned to Spain. Dreger, *Baugeschichte*, p. 125. The first evidence of a court sugar confectioner in Vienna dates from 1566: the "*Zuggerpacher*" Matthias de Vos began receiving pay that year. The use of sugar was introduced via Spain and the Low Countries. Ingrid Haslinger, *Küche und Tafelkultur am kaiserlichen Hofe zu Wien. Zur Geschichte von Hofküche, Hofzuckerbäckerei und Hofsilber- und Tafelkammer* (Bern, 1993), p. 48.

Castilla also had apartments not far from the castle.[38] Various artisans who were described as official purveyors to María's court are listed, too. These include Wolff Albrecht, a tapestrymaker, Mertt Wuermbstainer, the court smith, Sigmundt Neukhircher, Her Majesty's personal cook, Veit Bernhardt, her butcher, and Martin Münich, the keeper of the accounts of María's pantry ("*Khuchelschreiber*").[39]

The construction of the new residential complex, the so-called *Stallburg*, was nearing completion as were the renovations and expansion of the old castle.[40] This meant that Elizabeth's father the emperor could begin to turn his attention to other projects such as his new hunting lodge out in the Prater park or, even more importantly, his ideas for a giant new Summer palace and garden complex down the Danube Valley not far from Vienna, a complex which would become known simply as the "New Construction" (*Neugebäude*).[41] It seems that the worries of office, the stress of balancing the religions in his territories, and the disappointments of the recent campaign against the Ottomans were all taking a toll on the quickly-aging and often sickly emperor. The attraction for him of his hunting lodges or a new vacation residence grew.

One of the primary items of concern was the continued disobedience of the outlaw Grumbach and his backers in the Empire. Imperial Marshall August had been installed in his office in the impressive ceremony in Wine Market Square in Augsburg partly as a way of lending him legitimacy as he moved against the disgruntled nobleman. Elizabeth no doubt remembered the ceremonial declaration of Imperial Outlawry against Grumbach. After some attempts to negotiate with Duke Johann Friedrich of Saxony who was still aiding the outlaw, on 13 December Emperor Maximilian ordered the execution of the imperial decrees. August moved with his troops and others from the Franconian Circle toward Gotha where the duke, Grumbach, and

[38] "D. Francisco de Lasso de Castilia" and "Don Juan Manrique" are listed in the "vordern Schenckhstraß." Birk, "Materialien," p. 125. This street was on the other side of the Franciscan friary and imperial hospital complex from the castle.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 120, 144, 157, 148.

[40] Kühnel, *Hofburg* (1971), p. 36.

[41] Much research has been conducted on this construction of late. It appears that work began in earnest only in the summer of 1568 with the arrival of the architect and designer Salustio Peruzzi. For a report of a visit to the site in 1892 when it was being used as a powder magazine, see Albert Ilg, "Das Neugebäude in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen der allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses in Wien* 16 (1895), pp. 81–121.

some allies had holed up. For the next four cold winter months, the outlaws were besieged.[42]

The emperor was travelling in Bohemia and Silesia accepting declarations of allegiance from the representatives of these territories and following with interest the course of the developments in nearby Saxony. He wrote his friend Duke Christoph of Württemberg from Prague that March that he feared that Grumbach and Johann Friedrich's revolt could spread.[43] In mid-April, the word came in that Gotha Castle had fallen and Grumbach and the rebels quickly executed. Duke Johann Friedrich was spared execution due to his rank but sentenced to lifelong imprisonment. On 22 June he was brought to Vienna where Elizabeth probably had a chance to see him before he was taken off to her old home in Wiener Neustadt.[44] The castle there which she knew so well would serve as his primary prison until he died almost thirty years later.

Maximilian felt that he had to act quickly in this matter because of the problems his (half) sister-in-law Margarete was having in the Low Countries. There, the previous summer's riots were developing into a precarious political situation for the Habsburg government. With a military victory over some of the insurgents on 13 March at the Battle of Oosterweel near Antwerp, Elizabeth's aunt had bought time, but the emperor waited anxiously for the news that Gotha had capitulated. He feared that more disgruntled noblemen in the Empire would take up the anti-Habsburg cause. Elizabeth's uncle Philip had decided on drastic measures to secure the scene in Burgundy: reinforcements were being sent northward from Spain under the command of the the duke of Alba to defeat the insurgency, but they were not to arrive until August. Maximilian wrote Duke Christoph on 4 August, 1567 that it had been necessary to defeat Grumbach before he and his allies had the chance to connect with the rebels in the Burgundian Circle. If not, the emperor wrote, "I totally believe that the king would not have soon brought the Low Countries under his control."[45]

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[42] For a report on the siege, apparently written for Duke Christoph of Württemberg, see "Zeitung von der Belegerung Gotta de dato den 6. Februari, 1567," in Koch, *Quellen*, pp. 21–28. An account of the Grumbach controversy follows.

[43] Koch, *Quellen*, pp. 53–54.

[44] The captured duke's arrival is mentioned in Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 32.

[45] *"ich gentzlich glaube, derkunig hette das Niderland sobald nimmer in seine handt gebracht,"* Maximilian to Christoph, 4 Aug., 1566. Handwritten by the emperor. Koch, *Quellen*, p. 54.

With the shifting military, political, and religious scenes in the Low Countries, King Philip's view of a possible Franco-Habsburg marital tie, whether it be via his sister María's first or second daughter, began to shift. He did not need French meddling in affairs on their kingdom's northern frontier with the Low Countries. The problem was that the queen dowager Catherine and her son Charles were having their own troubles with religio-political dissidents. Alba and his troops arrived in Brussels with reinforcements to try and secure the capital in late August, but within a month Protestant leaders and troops were attacking the French court at Meaux and blockading Paris. Protestant leaders in the Empire watched closely as refugees from the fighting in the Low Countries came streaming into the imperial west and southwest. They began organizing resistance groups and assembling troops there for forays into either France or the Low Countries.

There was a crisis of a more immediate kind back in Vienna during Winter, 1566–1567. While troops were being mobilized to take on Grumbach and the rebellious Habsburg subjects in the Low Countries and Emperor Maximilian was off formally accepting the obedience of his subjects in the lands of the Crown of Saint Václav, Empress María was coming to term. Imperial Ambassador Khevenhüller returned from his mission to congratulate the queen and king of Spain on the birth of the *infanta* Isabella on 23 January, 1567. After an audience with Empress María, he prepared to head on to Opawa, where the emperor was making his rounds accepting the allegiance of his subjects in Silesia and meeting with representatives of the nobility in this important northern province.

In his diary, Khevenhüller relates that on the evening of 24 January, a fire broke out in the imperial gardens in Vienna due to an oversight by the gardener in charge of the heating apparatus. A malfunction of the mechanism which kept the orange trees and pomegranate bushes warm enough to survive the frigid Austrian winter had caught the covered walkways between the castle and the Augustinian church on fire. Here again, as with the cannons and their welcoming and honoring salutes, the potential downside of technology was experienced by Archduchess Elizabeth. As Khevenhüller related, "I helped Don Francisco carry…my most gracious lady to the carriage."[46] The

[46] "Ich habe…mein gnedigste frauen neben wolgedachten herrn Don Francisco bis in wagen tragen helfen." Khevenhüller, Tagebuch, p. 31. On the fire in the wooden

empress was returned to the castle by five o'clock the next morning, but the excitement had been enough to induce labor. A little after six that evening, Khevenhüller reported, she delivered a baby girl.

Archduchess Elizabeth's latest little sister was baptized Margarete by the rather strict bishop of Wiener Neustadt, Brother Christian Napponäus, revealing that the ties to that city continued even after the court had moved to Vienna. Bishop Christian had been having run-ins with Bishop Urban of Gurk concerning the publication of the papal permission to communicate in both species; the Wiener Neustadt bishop was not as accommodating as his colleague.[47] Baby Margarete was probably named after her sickly aunt in Innsbruck who was laboring through her final days. (Probably not after her aunt in Brussels who had pains of her own.) Francisco Lasso de Castilla, Empress María's High Steward, served as baby Margarete's godfather. The separated queen of Poland Katherina was her godmother.

Archduchess Elizabeth's "biological clock" was ticking. She was going on thirteen years of age, so the next few years were crucial to her education as a proper princess and marriage partner, whether she was to marry the Portuguese king, the French king, or someone else. The shifting scene at court in these years represented a continuation of the transition from the regime of her grandfather Emperor Ferdinand and showed signs of her mother's interventions.

The first clear development was the return of Baron Johann Trautson as Lord High Steward, replacing Harrach as the courts' leading officer.[48] Probably more important for Archduchess Elizabeth, at least indirectly, was the return of Ambassador Ogier Busbecq from Spain where he had been serving her two older brothers. He now became the steward for the young archdukes, but also exercised a number of other functions such as court librarian, supervisor of the zoo, and garden superintendent. If the archduchess was as intellectually inclined as later reports make her out to be, the influence of Sir Ogier is not to be underestimated. In addition to the return of Busbecq, the death of the long-time court composer Vaet must also be mentioned. This was a man whose style and compositions had clearly influenced the

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walkway around what is now the Josefsplatz, see also Dreger, Baugeschichte, p. 122, note 204.

[47] Theodor Wiedemann, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation im Lande under der Enns* (Prague, 1879), vol. 1, pp. 311–315.

[48] This transition was discussed above in Chapter III.

royal and imperial courts. Given the importance of music education for princesses, it can be surmised that he had also substantially influenced at least this aspect of Archduchess Elizabeth's education.

The Vienna castle chapel

After Vaet died in January in Brno, Moravia while accompanying Emperor Maximilian on his tour through the Bohemian lands, the emperor settled temporarily on Alard du Gaucquier of Lille as Vaet's replacement. He had been a tenor in Elizabeth's father's choir and was now given the nod to become choirmaster.[49] Du Gaucquier would tutor Elizabeth's brothers, all the while knowing that his patron was looking for a more qualified replacement. By Spring, 1568, Maximilian had decided on one of Orlando di Lasso's students, Philippus de Monte, who would go on to serve him and his son Emperor Rudolf for over twenty years. Du Gaucquier was granted a noble title and given the position of Assistant Choirmaster after de Monte came on staff.

Some sense of the music being composed and performed at court at this time, and probably taught on some level to Archduchess Elizabeth, can be found in the important collection of compositions published in Venice in 1568 by Antonio Gardano. Elizabeth's young music teacher, Formellis (he was in his twenties), for example, composed a number of works which appeared in the collection's first volume dedicated to music for high church festivals. His motet for All Saints Day paraphrased Saint Paul to the Hebrews, "Who by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions" (Hebrews 11:33). Formellis' piece was written for six voices. The performers sang,

> [t]hese are the saints whom the Lord elected in sincere love, and He gave them eternal glory.
>
> [Refrain:] The church shines with their glory, like the sun and the moon. The saints have conquered kingdoms with their faith; they have done justice and have therefore obtained their promises.[50]

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[49] Köchel, *kaiserliche Hof- Musikkapelle*, p. 45.

[50] "Isti sunt sancti," Walter Pass, ed., *Thesauri Musici* 25 (1973), p. 1. (Music on pp. 10–18.)

Another work by Formellis, for the Feast of the Assumption, a feast now in the late 1560's more loaded with significance than ever following the anti-Marian riots of Summer, 1566 in the Low Countries and due to some of the heterodox intellectual currents of the time, had six voices sing, "Blessed art thou, Virgin Mary, who hast borne the Lord, the creator of the world. Thou hast borne Him who hath created thee, and remainest a virgin for all eternity." These lines recalled the Gospel of Saint Luke and its verse quoting the angel to Mary: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee. And therefore also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke 1:35).[51]

Empress María's Christianity in which Elizabeth was being trained was deeply marked by the veneration of saints, particularly Saint Mary. There was also a strong angelic component, tied both to the general roles of angels in art and the Bible as well as to the veneration of angel saints, particularly Saint Michael. The strong role of angels in the life of Saint Mary, whether in the Annunciation or the Nativity, reinforced this aspect of Elizabeth's piety. Her active learning through participation in playing music with the music's composers added a personal dimension to her education, reinforcing the sermons and readings, as the motets' composers worked to intertwine words and sounds in their works.[52]

There were various other personnel changes at the Vienna courts following the Hungarian campaign of 1565–1566. As always, there was turnover in the castle chapels as priests cycled through those various positions. There were a couple of Castle Pastors in mid-decade that did not last long in the job: Antonius de Walle died in office in April, 1565 after also briefly serving as Court Almoner. The member of the choir Johann Huys was replaced by June, 1567.[53]

The Court Almoner who followed de Walle, Georg Brenner, continued an unusually long career in the castle chapel which had started

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[51] "Beate es, Virgo Maria," Walter Pass, ed., *Thesauri Musici* 31 (1974), p. 2. (Music on pp. 7–11.)

[52] Lewis Lockwood pointed out how difficult it is to distinguish sacred and secular components in the music of the period, writing that examples of the music "…suggest an enormously varied tapestry into which are woven many different combinations of sacred and secular elements adapted to special purposes." (p. 502). "Music and Religion in the High Renaissance and the Reformation," pp. 496–502 in Oberman and Trinkaus, *Pursuit of Holiness*.

[53] Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, pp. 91, 604–605, 611, 619.

as a chaplain back in 1560. He had then moved on to the position of almoner in 1565 before becoming the Castle Pastor in June, 1567. He would hold that position until 1572. For the next eighteen years after that Brenner held the significant position of *Zeremoniar*, ostensibly responsible for the organization of the liturgical ceremonies held in the various castle chapels. He was also a composer. Gardano published a work of his titled "Conceptio est hodie" in 1568. This motet reveals the type of spirituality conveyed by one of the central figures in the castle chapel for thirty years. In this piece for four voices the singers' words included, "[t]oday is the conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose glorious life illumes the whole church. Blessed Mary, pray for us."[54]

The Dominican friar and Court Preacher, Brother Matthias Esche von Cittard, who had accompanied the court to Frankfurt and held a number of well-received public sermons there, died at the age of forty-four, just days after Emperor Maximilian returned following the Hungarian campaign of 1566.[55] Cittard would be buried in the fifteenth-century canonry church dedicated to Saint Dorothea located near the Vienna castle.[56] The post of Court Preacher, which had caused so much bad blood between Elizabeth's father and grandfather when she was younger, had been jointly filled for a while by Brother Matthias and the administrator of the Vienna diocese, Prince-Bishop Urban Sagstetter of Gurk. Now, Bishop Urban was alone in the pulpit. It was a position which he apparently did not relish.

It seems that the bishop was under pressure from various fronts and had little time to dedicate to Vienna and the imperial court. The pope was ordering him to pay more attention to his Carinthian diocese, hold a synod there and reform the clergy. Many of the male clerics were reportedly living with women, a common enough practice in the Habsburgs' lands, but one which Pope Pius wanted ended. As the prince-bishop grew older and frailer, he spent more time in his episcopal residence in the castle at Straßburg, supervising the

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[54] Pass, *Thesauri Musici* 1974, p. 2. (Music on pp. 3–6.)

[55] Habersack, *Krönungen*, pp. 140, 146.

[56] The financially-strapped Saint Dorothea Foundation received an infusion of funds following the Ottoman siege of the city in 1529 when the royal administration decided to combine its assets with those of the even more troubled house of Cistercian nuns in the city dedicated to Saint Nicholas. Kopallik, *Regesten*, vol. 1, pp. 405–406.

construction of new walls around the town as well as the building of a new city hall.[57]

Bishop Urban was an advisor to Elizabeth's aunt Magdalena in Tyrol, too, as she worked to organize and administer her new house of religious women in Hall with her 24-year-old sister Helene. Unfortunately, their sister Margarete would not experience the opening of the house. Khevenhüller reported in his diary of hearing of the news of Elizabeth's aunt's death while he was in Prague with the emperor in mid-March, 1567.[58] Archduchess Margarete, who Elizabeth undoubtedly remembered from Margarete's elaborate visit with her unmarried sisters to Vienna seven years before on the occasion of the Vienna Festival, was just over thirty-one years old when she passed on, leaving Elizabeth's other two maiden aunts to carry on the three sisters' common project of establishing a religious house in the Alpine mining town where they would live. As so often in her life, Archduchess Elizabeth would again experience the litanies and ceremonies of mourning.

The mourning rituals, like most other church business in the Vienna diocese and at the imperial courts of the empress, emperor, and young archdukes living in the capital, would have to be taken care of without the participation of Bishop Urban, the nominal episcopal administrator. On 4 August, 1567 he wrote Emperor Maximilian a bitter letter which helps explain his decision to resign his Vienna position less than a year later:

> What does one want to do in the *labyrintho religionis*? The secret preachers in the city and the sectarians in the countryside have good locations and protection. On the other hand, what a Catholic bishop should do, that all has to be moderated and his hands are tied, and therefore what is done is far from what is best. I have truly become timid in this case… But that is how it remains and stands. One does not want to give things the proper form. What should one do then? The godless clerics, who are not good for anything, confound everything, they have the best protection, the others have to be driven out and hated. In sum, *tota massa est corrupta.*[59]

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[57] Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, pp. 323–325. Pope Pius' order was dated 13 June, 1565.

[58] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 31.

[59] *"Was will man in dem labyrintho religionis tun, dieweil die Winkelprediger in der Stadt und die Sectischen auf dem Lande guten Platz und Schutz habe, dagegen, was ein katholischer Bischof handeln soll, das muss alles moderiert sein und sind ihm die Hände gesperrt, darum nur weit von dannen ist das beste. Ich bin fürwahr in diesem Fall kleinmütig geworden… Aber da bleibts und stehts. Man will die Sachen keinen rechten Form*

The bishop's letter gives a good impression of the situation in Elizabeth's hometown and the surrounding area when she was growing into a teenager.

What Bishop Urban termed a "religious labyrinth" was the result of a political situation in the unit of the Habsburgs' Danubian territories known as the Land Below the Enns in which the Estates' representatives from the lords and the gentry had managed to get recognition of their right to practice religion following the Confession of Augsburg, at least in their castles, houses and rural properties. (This became known as the "Religious Concession" of 1568.) The burghers and other inhabitants of the area's cities and towns were excluded from this arrangement, but either supported private Protestant preachers (known by the authorities rather pejoratively as "corner preachers," *Winkelprediger*, because they supposedly worked in nooks and corners instead of out in the open or in public, legal positions,) or left home to visit Lutheran services in the castles and chapels of sympathetic local nobles.[60]

After Bishop Urban resigned in 1568, the post of Bishop of Vienna would be vacant for years. (It had already practically been so even before his resignation.) There had been no official bishop since Antonín Brus had resigned in favor of the see of Prague back in 1561 and there would not be another Bishop of Vienna until 1574. Apparently, there were still few qualified clergy willing to come to Vienna and its little diocese where the majority of the residents were pushing for religious concessions along the lines of those outlined in the Peace of Augsburg the previous decade.

Often when discussing the Catholic reform movement and the Counter-Reformation, historians have pointed to the important roles of bishops. In the case of Vienna, however, the lack of a bishop meant that either dedicated laymen and women such as the imperial administrator and counselor Dr. Georg Eder (who historian Elaine Fulton has called a "surrogate bishop" for Vienna) or the empress María had

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geben. Was soll dann einer tun? Die gottlosen Pfaffen, so nichts wert sein, confundieren alles, die haben den besten Schutz, die anderen müssen vertrieben und verhasst sein. In summa: tota massa est corrupta." Letter from Bishop Urban to Emperor Maximilian, Straßburg, 4 Aug., 1567. Quoted in Obersteiner, *Bischöfe von Gurk*, p. 317.

[60] This legal situation and how it developed over the course of the following century is detailed in Strohmeyer, *Konfessionskonflikt*. On the *Religionskonzession* of 1568, see p. 67. The general context is surveyed in Chapter 1 of Elaine Fulton, *Catholic Belief and Survival in Late Sixteenth-Century Vienna: The Case of Georg Eder (1523–87)* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 21–37.

to step up and play key roles, or women and men in religious orders such as the Franciscans and Jesuits were crucial.[61]

When discussing religious orders, the knightly orders should also be recalled. The Knights of Saint John had received much positive publicity after their defense of Malta in 1565 and the Teutonic Knights were playing a significant role in imperial politics as well as in plans for an eastern defense system. The Iberian knightly orders also played a role in the Vienna of Elizabeth's childhood. There was a continual presence in the city of Spanish military men throughout the decades since Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand had come to central Europe. Many had played roles in the fighting in Hungary over that period. Some of them had gained entrance into the prestigious Spanish royal Order of Saint James. This meshed well with the general chivalric ethos being performed in the tournaments and festivals of the period and served as another means by which to overcome the religious or theological divisions of the period by reference to more general, "medieval" and romantic shared values. This could also integrate the foreign Spanish into the Austrian social world: were they not also knights?

María's High Steward Francisco Lasso de Castilla had entered the Knights of Saint James in a ceremony in Vienna held when the archduchess was four. Other of her mother's courtiers professed as knights over the course of the 1560's. These included Diego Manrique de Mendoza who served in the courts of both Maximilian and María, and Maximilian's High Steward Pedro Lasso de Castilla, brother of Francisco.[62] (Pedro had also been in service to Emperor Ferdinand). Melchor Robles y Leyte, whose parents were in service to María, had entered the order in 1560 while serving in Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand's court. Robles would go on to undertake diplomatic missions back to Spain and fight in the Hungarian campaigns.[63] In an expression of how the orders could serve integrative functions,

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[61] On Eder and the diocesan administration, *ibid*., p. 75. He also played an important role in the reform of the Vienna university. This is not to underestimate the role of other religious orders: the bishop of Wiener Neustadt Napponäus had been a Benedictine monk and the recently-deceased Court Preacher Cittard was a Dominican friar. Elizabeth's upbringing would have been tinged by a certain regular bias.

[62] On Manrique de Mendoza, see Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, p. 248. He married a lower Austrian noblewoman from the influential Puchheim family at the beginning of 1563, showing again how marriages helped integrate the Iberian and Austrian nobilities. He is mentioned as *maestresala* to Queen María in 1561. On Lasso de Castilla: pp. 244–245.

[63] *Ibid*., p. 263.

bringing together men from Iberian and central European families, the long-serving Lord High Chamberlain and Privy Counselor Georg Pruskowsky z Proskowa of Bohemia entered the order in an elaborate ceremony in the Augustinian church next to the Vienna castle on 11 May, 1567.[64] Archduchess Elizabeth may very well have attended.

Some of the chaplains coming on board in the Vienna castle appear similarly to have had Iberian connections. Although the flavor remained rather Flemish for some time longer, the presence of men from Spain and Portugal can also be documented. Hieronymus Spinola, for example, began a long career as a Vienna chaplain on 1 February, 1568. He would hold that position for almost twenty years. More importantly, the nephew of a man that had served María and her sister Juana when they were girls in Spain, the Carmelite friar Matheo Flecha, received permission from the provincial of his order to leave their house in Valencia and enter Empress María's service as a chaplain. He would be a key figure at María's court from the time he arrived there in the mid-1560's until he accompanied her back to Spain in 1581, only to return later to Emperor Rudolf's court where he is recorded to have been in service until 1595. A composer, Flecha wrote madrigals as well as other music and presumably played a significant role in Archduchess Elizabeth's life and musical education.[65]

Nine Choirs of Angels, and Jesuits

Empress María had a Court Preacher of her own, the Portuguese Jesuit Francisco Antonio. She also maintained close ties to the Society of Jesus and its local Provincial, Lorenzo Maggio. The empress ordered him to hold a sermon in the presence of Emperor Maximilian on Holy Thursday, 1567, indicating just in what high esteem she held him.[66] King Ferdinand had permitted the Jesuits to settle in Vienna back before Elizabeth was born. The year of her birth, 1554, they were allowed to move from the run-down rooms in the Dominican friary

[64] Ana Mur Raurell, "'Ex Hispanis Sequnti.' Der Hof Ferdinands I. und die spanische Ritterorden," pp. 52–61 in Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Kaiser Ferdinand I. 1503–1564: das Werden der Habsburgermonarchie* (Vienna, 2003).

[65] Matheo Flecha the Younger, *Il primo libro de madrigali*. Marino Lambea Castro, ed. (Barcelona, 1988.) [Original edition, 1568.] Pp. 9–10, 45. Walter Pass, *Musik und Musiker am Hof Maximilians II*. (Tutzing, 1980), pp. 5, 53, 55–56.

[66] Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, p. 94.

they had been using to the empty Carmelite friary at the square known as Am Hof. They were gaining followers at a surprisingly rapid pace.

This can on some level be attributed to the charismatic preacher and author Peter Canisius who had been active in the city in the 1550's, but the school the Jesuits set up also drew students from across the Habsburgs' lands and other central European territories such as Poland. In 1564, for example, the young Polish nobleman from Massovia Stanislaus Kostka traveled to Vienna with his brother to study with the Jesuits. The brothers came from a family with important political connections: his mother was the aunt of the Polish chancellor. Kostka rented a room in an apartment building just behind the old Carmelite church dedicated to the Nine Choirs of Angels which the Jesuits were now using.

Like many of the Vienna schoolboys, Stanislaus belonged to the Congregation of Saint Barbara in the city, a confraternity which sponsored various religious activities. He reportedly visited with María's preacher Father Francisco while he lived and studied in Vienna from 1564–1567 before going on to Dillingen. There he met Canisius at the Jesuits' school. Kostka went to Rome and joined the Jesuits shortly thereafter. He died on the Feast of the Assumption at the age of eighteen and was buried in Rome's Sant'Andrea al Quirinale Church. His cult developed quickly: he was beatified in 1605 and canonized early the following century. Stories circulated about how when he had been living in Vienna he would spend hours in prayer in Nine Choirs of Angels Church. He reported that Saint Barbara and two angels brought him the Eucharist in bed while he was ill. Kostka was also said to have seen a vision of Saint Mary handing him the baby Jesus and telling him to enter the Society of Jesus.[67]

The large one-time friary church where the young saint prayed contained an elaborate high altar depicting scenes from Saint Mary's life as well as the role of Mary among the angels which may have influenced the his piety.[68] It may have influenced Empress María and her daughters, too. While the future saint Stanislaus was going to school

[67] On the legend of Saint Mary handing Saint Stanislaus the baby Jesus: Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, *Gnadenreiches Jesulein. Jesuskindverehrung in der Andachtsgraphik* (Vienna, 1998), p. 28. Depictions of this became a popular image associated with the saint.

[68] Wilhelm Suida, "The Madonna in Armour," *Parnassus* 11 (1939), pp. 4–7. Suida is particularly concerned with the depiction of Saint Mary in armor, a striking image that may have also caught the eye of Archduchess Elizabeth when she visited the

nearby, the court ladies may have come to visit the church of their *protégés*, the Jesuits. There they would have found a visual manifestation of the power of Mary and her relationship with the angels. In its closed state, this altar showed scenes from Saint Mary's life. When opened, there were sixteen images of Mary and the angels and other choirs of saints showing homage to Her.

For example, the scene depicting "Saint Mary and the Choir of the Virgins," a scene which may have had particular resonance for young Archduchess Elizabeth, showed Mary wearing a crown of lilies and holding a lily in her hand. Saints Catharine, Barbara, Dorothea, Margarete, and two others who are unidentified, are depicted as giving homage to Mary, who in response parallels herself with the lilies which embellish the valleys.[69] According to Barbara Bonard in her analysis of this altarpiece, the "Golden Legend" compared virgins and angels and gave greater praise to the former because they had bodies which had to be overcome, unlike the latter.[70] Through contemplation of the images on this altarpiece, Archduchess Elizabeth would have been confronted with a perceived relationship between virgins and angels.

Another striking image among the many on the altarpiece was one which showed Saint Mary receiving homage from the *potestates*, a level of angels among the nine choirs depicted. In this image, Mary was explicitly tied to the Tower of David and was portrayed clad in armor as saying that she was on the viewers' side. The tower was depicted as central to the scene, and pieces of armor were painted hanging from it. Bonard connects this image explicitly with the threat of the Ottomans in 1439, when the image was created.[71] Archduchess Elizabeth would have seen the image in a similar context in the 1560's: castles and devotion to Saint Mary were tied.

An important early student drawn to the Jesuit school in Vienna while Elizabeth was growing up there in the 1560's was the Tyrolean Georg Scherer.[72] Ten years Kostka's elder, Scherer had first worked

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Jesuits' church. The altar has since been transferred to a museum at Klosterneuburg outside of Vienna.

[69] Barbara Bonard, *Der Albrechtsaltar im Klosterneuburg bei Wien. Irdisches Leben und himmlische Hierarchie. Ikonographische Studie* (Munich, 1980), ill. 17 and pp. 88–89.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 92.

[71] *Ibid.*, ill. 8 and pp. 39–42.

[72] Gottfried Mierau, *Das publizistische Werk von Georg Scherer SJ (1540–1605)* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1968), pp. 10–11.

as a servant for Canisius. He entered the order in 1559 when he was nineteen years old and received his *magister* degree in 1564. By 1568–1569 he had been ordained a priest and was leading the Sunday catechism classes at Nine Choirs of Angels Church. Enthusiastic and eloquent, his sermons were well attended. He is credited with having converted the Viennese baker's son Melchior Khlesl to Roman Catholicism. Khlesl would go on to become Bishop of Vienna in 1602.

Partly with the financial support of the Spanish noble community in Vienna, the Jesuits set up a tuition-free school which quickly attracted large numbers of students. Reportedly, there were four hundred boys and young men studying there by 1564. The Jesuits ran a printing press in the city for a few years in the early 1560's, held weekly public processions to the cathedral across town, and took over the responsibility of serving as confessors and clerics to the various women's religious communities in the city.[73] As elsewhere in the Empire, the inroads of Protestantism among the male regular clergy meant that there was a shortage of men to provide religious services to nuns.

Starting in 1559 when Elizabeth was four, the Jesuits began a highly successful and long-term public relations and pedagogical undertaking: they began to sponsor performances of plays by their students and pupils. Although some of these were for internal consumption, many of them were performed either in the Jesuits' church or outdoors and, given her mother's strong affinity for the Jesuits and the general support of the Spanish community in Vienna for their undertakings, it is likely that the teenage Elizabeth had the opportunity to be in the audience for at least some of their productions. If she did not attend the plays personally, it is probable that their themes were discussed back in the castle's women's rooms via reports from either Empress María's court preacher Father Francisco or someone else involved in their production or as audience members at their performances. These productions would have been important social and even political events for the beleaguered reformed Catholic community in the city.

According to Johannes Müller in his study of Jesuit drama in the German-speaking lands from 1555–1665, the humanist Conrad Celtis had sponsored performances of classical dramas by Terence and

[73] Roderich Geyer, *Dr. Joh. Caspar Neubeck, Bischof von Wien 1574–1594* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 1956), pp. 60–63.

Plautus at the University of Vienna starting around 1500.[74] The Jesuits' decision to do the same in the 1550's and 1560's could be seen as connecting to earlier traditions. The discovery by the humanists that the texts many had thought were dialogues were actually plays meant that the process of performance could now be included in a replication of antiquity. It was not enough to simply read the texts; they had to be experienced, both by the actors and by the audience. This obviously led to a different type of pedagogical experience and one perhaps more in tune with the needs and interests of teenagers such as Archduchess Elizabeth in the later 1560's.

Müller outlines the general types of plays which students at Jesuit schools in central Europe began performing in the early years of the order's move into that part of the continent. The plays recorded as having been produced in Vienna at this time conform to his generalizations. There were some neo-Latin morality plays, some Classical school dramas, and some Biblical stories. The first category seems the least likely to have attracted Elizabeth. These were stories such as "Euripes" by the Franciscan friar Lewin Brecht from Louvain. First published in 1549 and performed in Vienna in 1555 and 1566, this story discussed how Venus and Cupid waylay a youth. The play "Petriscus" by Georgius Macropedius, a member of the Brethren of the Common Life who also came from the Low Countries, dated from 1536 and was performed in Vienna during Carnival, 1568. With its theme of the prodigal student it clearly appealed to the students performing it, but it may have had a rather limited appeal outside of that context.

What these plays point to, however, is the close and continued connection between the Low Countries and Austria during Elizabeth's life. This has already been discussed in reference to the musicians employed in Vienna's courts, and even more generally in reference to the origins of the clerics active there. Emperor Maximilian's interest in the disturbing developments in Antwerp, Brussels, and elsewhere in the western reaches of the Empire in the 1560's was at least partly the result of the personal experience of many of the men who worked with and around him who had that part of Europe on their minds and in their memories. With Canisius active in Vienna, the connection is even

[74] Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutsche Zunge vom Anfang (1555) bis zum Hochbarock (1665)* (Augsburg, 1930), vol. 1, p. 7. See also Genevieve Kelly, "The Drama of Student Life in the German Renaissance," *Educational Theatre Journal* 26 (1974), pp. 291–307.

clearer. These neo-Latin morality plays that the Jesuits' students were performing provide more evidence of how close Burgundy still was to the central European Habsburgs. It may help explain Elizabeth's parents' decision to send her westward or her brothers Matthias, Ernst, and Albrecht's later roles in governing the Habsburgs' Low Countries possessions.

The second general category of plays sketched by Müller consists of Classical school dramas, particularly the writings attributed to the ancient playwrights Terence and Plautus. Terence's "Adelphi" was performed in Vienna in the war year of 1566. "Aulularia" by Plautus was performed both in 1565 and 1567 and warrants further discussion. It seems to have struck a chord with the audience, the producers, or both. If Elizabeth had either seen it or at least heard of it, she would have had many things to think about. The pot full of gold which is the central symbol of the play and even the miser who tries to keep it must have meant something to the archduchess: both her mother and her father were chronically short on cash. In fact, María was still having trouble getting money from her brother King Philip, and Maximilian would make the religious concessions to the Lower Austrian nobles at least partly due to his need for tax revenues in exchange.[75]

The play is also about a marriage arrangement and a dowry. Both were on Elizabeth's mind in Summer, 1567. One of the reasons that the negotiations concerning her marriage and that of her sister were going so slowly was that the amount of the dowry to be agreed upon was debated. Another aspect of the play may also have attracted the attention of Elizabeth and her sister Anna if they talked about it was the issue of improper sexual behavior on the part of the primary female character, Phaedria, who becomes pregnant before her marriage. This was an alternative image of female behavior to the one presented in the story of Saint Domitilla whose festival had been celebrated in Augsburg. She had refused sex and marriage and accepted martyrdom!

[75] On María's money concerns with her brother, see the report of the Venetian ambassador Micheli written from Bratislava, 6 Aug., 1567. Micheli was also reporting that now Maximilian was dragging his feet in the marriage negotiations about Archduchess Anna and Philip's son Carlos because Philip wanted to become a candidate for King of the Romans, pushing his nephew Rudolf who was currently at his court out of the succession to the imperial title. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 410.

The third category of plays that the Jesuits performed in these years involved Bible stories. These plays were the ones most likely pitched to the broadest audience. They would not have been opportunities to practice Classical Latin or relive the worlds of students or the ancient poets. Instead, performed outdoors or in churches, they would have been the chance to convey important religious messages to a rather broad audience. It is very likely that if Elizabeth (and Anna) did not see these plays, they at least heard about their themes and could think about and discuss them.

The sisters missed the performance of a play "Magdalena (the disciple of Jesus)" which was performed as part of Easter celebrations in Vienna in 1566 while they were in Augsburg.[76] It would be performed again in 1568.[77] The general theme of the role of Mary Magdalene at the Tomb was a relatively well-known one and was used to discuss women in the ministry. The Protestant writer Katharina Schütz Zell who wrote in Strasburg earlier in the century had used the story to justify her sermon given at the grave of her husband in 1548.[78] In the Gospel of Saint John, Mary Magdalene is the first person described as finding Christ's body missing. After notifying some of the other disciples, who come and see and leave again, Mary looks into the sepulcher and two angels ask her why she is crying. She answers and then turns to see Christ, who had not revealed Himself to the male disciples. He gives her a message which she then passes on: "I have seen the Lord, and these things he said to me" (John 21:18). Here, the young archduchess would have been confronted with a story that places the woman Mary Magdalene before the disciples.

In 1567 the Jesuits put on a play dealing with the story of Abraham and Isaac. Again, this story was probably well-known, but for a girl just going on thirteen who was faced with the prospect of a dictated marriage to someone she had never met, it may have had particular force. The story deals with the relationship between a parent, a child, God, and an angel. In the biblical text, the child's only reported words were, "where is the victim for the holocaust" (Genesis 22:7)? Of course

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[76] *"Magdalena (Jungerin Jesu),"* Müller, *Jesuitendrama*, vol. 2, p. 118.

[77] Jean-Marie Valentin, *Le Théatre des Jésuites dans les Pays de Langue allemande. Répertoire bibliographique*, 1. Partie. (Stuttgart, 1983), p. 9.

[78] As quoted in Katharina Schütz Zell, *Church Mother: The Writings of a Protestant Reformer in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Elsie McKee, ed. and trans. (Chicago, 2006), p. 104. McKee points out that the "Golden Legend" quoted Saint Ambrose who described Saint Mary Magdalene as an "apostle to the apostles" (note 77).

the initial (unstated) answer is that the child is the sought-after victim. Discussions of children's responsibilities, obedience, and faith may all have followed consideration of the story.

Like Brother Matthias in his funeral sermon for Elizabeth's grandfather Ferdinand delivered a few years before, the Genesis text speaks of the consequences of virtuous action: the angel says to Abraham, "because thou hast done this thing, and hast not spared thy only begotten son for my sake: I will bless thee, and I will multiply they seed as the stars of heaven, and as the sand that is by the sea shore" (Genesis 22:16–17). Progeny are evidence of virtue. This assertion may well have buttressed Empress María's standing in many people's eyes, including those of her daughters.

In 1568, the biblical play presented in Vienna by the Jesuits was based on the story of the prophet Elias. In the story, Elias asks for food and drink from a widow, who complies. Not long after, her infant son dies. Upset, the widow asks Elias, "What have I to do with thee, thou man of God? Art thou come to me that my iniquities should be remembered, and that thou shouldst kill my son" (3 Kings 17:18)? The image of a dead baby probably reverberated with the archduchess: had she not lost three baby siblings recently, Friedrich, Maria and Karl? There was another little baby swaddled in the castle at that time: would little Margarete make it? In the biblical story Elias takes the dead baby and asks God to resurrect him, which God does. The widow responds, "Now, by this I know that thou art a man of God, and the word of the Lord in thy mouth is true" (3 Kings 17:24). In some way she had earned God's grace by her actions feeding the stranger and giving him drink.

The idea of sickness and possible death was in the air the summer and fall of 1567. While it seems that baby Margarete was thriving, her father Maximilian was often sick. The Venetian ambassador reported that Fall that the emperor did not expect to live long and wanted to settle his children before he died.[79] His favorite daughter Anna had come down with measles while the court had been in Bratislava for the summer's unpleasant negotiations with the Hungarian estates over the level of their financial support for the eastern defenses, which now did not seem as important as they had the year before.[80] Doctors were

[79] Micheli to Doge, Vienna, 13 Nov., 1567. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 413.

[80] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 32. On the Hungarian estates' meeting: Franz Theuer,

called to Aunt Katharina's bedside, too. The queen was suffering from abdominal swelling, fever, and nausea.[81]

Charity to the sick and poor

The related issue of the necessity of a charitable response to such sickness and need would have been apparent to the young archduchess. Elizabeth had the example of her namesake and patron saint to help structure her responses to the world, and she was being brought up in a theological environment which would stress actions as well as faith as components to salvation. The legend of Saint Elizabeth, a thirteenth-century royal Hungarian daughter who had been born in Bratislava and brought up in Thuringia, told of her work with the poor and sick, and reports have it that Archduchess Elizabeth followed the saint's example in this regard. Saint Elizabeth had been widowed at the age of twenty, became a Franciscan tertiary, and dedicated the remaining few years of her life to spinning, carding, founding a hospital and generally helping the poor. She died at the age of twenty-four and was canonized five years later.[82] This life parallels Elizabeth's in striking ways.

In his 1638 work on the women of the Habsburg Dynasty, the Jesuit court historiographer Johannes-Ludovicus Gans reported that he had spoken with women at the convent which Archduchess Elizabeth later founded who had known her.[83] They claimed to have heard stories from women who remembered the archduchess as a girl. These reports related how Elizabeth prayed often, even at night. In a rather peculiar anecdote, Gans reported that Elizabeth would tie a string to one of her toes. The other end would be threaded through a hole in the wall to the antechamber where her ladies-in-waiting were waiting. They would tug on the string to wake Elizabeth for her prayers. The ruse was necessary so that, if asked, the ladies could honestly say that they had not gone into the girl's room.[84]

Blutiges Erbe. Die Habsburger im Kampf mit Franzosen, Päpsten, Ungarn und Türken um die Vorherrschaft in Italien (Eisenstadt, 1996), pp. 491–492.

[81] Fichtner, "Community," p. 211.

[82] David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2nd Ed. (Oxford, 1987), p. 139; Jakob Torsy, ed., *Lexikon der deutschen Heiligen Seligen, Ehrwürdigen und Gottseligen* (Cologne, 1959), p. 134.

[83] Gans, *Frawenzimmer*, p. 284.

[84] *Ibid*., p. 286.

Of course it is not possible to verify the story, which may speak more to tropes of piety than to historical accuracy, but it seems peculiar enough to have some connection to some type of experience: why would such details have to be made up to make the rather mundane point that Archduchess Elizabeth prayed a lot, by day and by night? In addition to the string anecdote, Gans' account tells of Elizabeth's charity to the poor. Reportedly she would throw food out of the window for poor people and even go so far as to remove the gold or silver buttons from her clothes and toss them outside, too.

These anecdotes reveal the spatial limits on the archduchess' life: even if they are fantasies, they are fantasies which take place in very circumscribed spaces. Her piety and charity are not exercised outside; she is not described as visiting the sick or poor. Elizabeth is portrayed in bed or at least in her room. There she interacted with the rest of the world through the window. As has been shown, this was also the way she interacted with various of the court festivities, whether the Vienna Festival in the castle court when she was six, or at the imperial enfoeffment ceremony for Imperial Marshall Elector-Duke August in Augsburg on Wine Market Square when she was twelve.

From the observers' perspective a painted portrait bust would have been a realistic depiction of how many people saw Archduchess Elizabeth. The picture frame and the window frame played the same roles in the mediation of the girl's image. Even the women's wagons in which they rode through the city streets for *entrées* effectively cut the viewer off from much of the subject. Only their upper bodies and headpieces would have been visible to most of the populace. In this way they may have more resembled reliquary busts than full-length people. This is still the truncated and framed way Archduchess Elizabeth can be comprehended, through partial images and records of costumed performances.

There does seem to be some connection between the depicted archduchess with her interest in supporting the poor and various developments in the city of her childhood. There are also possible role models drawn from contemporary religious literature such as saints' lives or instructional writings such as the one by Vives. The structure of the women's court supports the assertion, too, that charity in the form of alms was an institutionalized component of the ladies' lives. They had a professional almoner on staff, as well as kitchen personnel and people to take care of their children, bodies, clothes, jewelry, and rooms' decorations. They generally had more limited access to hunt-

ing or military staff, and the question of how honorary the position of Master of the Horse was is an open one: how much independent access to mobility did Empress María have, for example, even though she had a Master of the Horse on staff? If this line of reasoning is followed further to the sub-courts of the archduchesses, it can be seen that they had even more limited ways to interface through staff with the rest of the world. Their brothers had more autonomy in these matters, as their separate support staffs show.

There is evidence that the city government as well as members of the royal and imperial courts in Vienna attempted to assist some of the poor, elderly, and disabled in the city while Elizabeth was living there. The city administration had a rather large complex of buildings and a chapel located not too far from the castle in the old house of Poor Clares that had been established by Duchess Blanche, wife of the Austrian duke Rudolf III and daughter of the French king Philip III, in the early fourteenth century.[85] Duchess Blanche's French-style tomb was located in the choir of the Franciscan friary church near the *Hofburg*, standing high before the altar. Blanche had died after giving birth to a dead baby daughter and her burial monument was a sculpture of mourners about the deceased royal princess, her baby daughter by her side.[86] Archduchess Elizabeth probably at some point visited this nearby friary church with its memorial to the dead French princess and her baby.

The buildings near Carinthian Gate and Swine Market had been transferred to the control of the Municipal Poor House (*Bürgerspital*).[87] The few Franciscan nuns connected with this house and the closed one outside the city walls were displaced to the pilgrim hostel dedicated to Saint Anne, also not far away, where they would soon get into

[85] On Duchess Blanche: Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 65–66. On Duke Rudolf III, a Habsburg who later briefly went on to become King of Bohemia and claimed the title of King of Poland as well via his marriage to the widowed queen Elisabeth Rejčka, see pp. 406–407. (On Queen Elisabeth, p. 82.)

[86] Gerhard Schmidt, "Das Grabmal der Blanche de France (+1305) bei den Wiener Minoriten," pp. 181–192 in *Beiträge zur Kunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift Hans Wentzel* (Berlin, 1975). An eighteenth-century engraving of this tomb (which is no longer extant) is reproduced on p. 182. Blanche had married Rudolf in Paris in 1300.

[87] Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon*, vol. 1, pp. 512–514. The original *Bürgerspital* had been located outside of the city walls and was meant to supplement Holy Ghost Hospital in the old part of the City near the city hall.

problems with the male administrator charged by the city officials with supervising the property.[88]

In addition to the city-run institution, there was a second not far from the court women's residence: a courtier had donated money to set up a poor house for retired court employees. After the death of its founder, the Spanish governor of the pages at King Ferdinand's court Diego de Serava, his widow Katharina claimed that her late husband had spent all his wealth on the poor retirees and asked for a court pension to support her in her old age.[89] King Ferdinand had taken over the financial responsibilities for this institution and settled it into empty buildings from the Franciscan friary near the castle, including the chapel there dedicated to Saint Catherine. It became known as the Imperial Poor House (*Kaiserspital*) and was expanded with the financial help of both Elizabeth's grandfather and her grandmother Anna. Anna donated a significant seigneurie in Wolkersdorf to support the undertaking. In 1564, an older foundation dedicated to Saint Martin and set up for court employees had its properties transferred to the control of the *Kaiserspital* as well.[90] If Archduchess Elizabeth had wanted to assist the elderly, sick, and poor, this institution was probably the one best suited to her interests. She would have even known some of the tenants personally from their days of court service.

Elizabeth's grandfather had taken seriously one of the provisions of his grandfather Maximilian's will. This involved setting up institutions to assist the indigent in his territories, a worsening problem in this period of demographic expansion and, more recently, shifting trade patterns. In the 1550's when Elizabeth was a young child, Ferdinand had authorized the establishment of at least six other "court poor houses" (*Hofspitäler*) in his hereditary lands.[91] Often, properties and endowed funds originally tied to now-abandoned urban friaries or other religious institutions were redirected to these new ends.

The political context of Archduchess Elizabeth's early years included this increased interest in building and funding carative organizations. Only a few steps from her home in the Vienna castle, a new, arcaded

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[88] Saint Anne's Hostel had been set up by the burgher wife Elisabeth Wartenauer and the city council claimed rights over it. The hostel's church dated from around 1520. Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon*, vol. 4, p. 554.

[89] *Ibid*., vol. 3, pp. 430–431. Laferl, *Kultur der Spanier*, pp. 270–271.

[90] Czeike, *Historisches Lexikon*, vol. 4, p. 193.

[91] Ernst Novotny, *Geschichte des Wiener Hofspitals* (Vienna, 1978), p. 3.

complex was being built for the dozens of wards of the *Kaiserspital*. If her mother followed in the steps of her predecessor as queen of Bohemia and Hungary and consort to the Austrian ruler, Anna, she would have seen it as necessary to invest in this undertaking: Queen Anna (and Diego de Serava) had.

During the war year of 1566, records indicate that the schoolmaster of nearby Saint Michael's Church as well as a woman called the "supervisor of the young girl apprentices" were paid for their services teaching the children living at the *Kaiserspital*.[92] These seem to have been all girls: in September, 1568, the provincial financial authorities apparently charged with the administration of the *Kaiserspital* wrote Elizabeth's father that there were at that point insufficient funds available to clothe the forty old men, forty-six women, and twenty-four girls currently housed there. Emperor Maximilian authorized the money needed to ensure that the institution's wards worshiping in cold Saint Catherine's chapel would be adequately clothed for the Winter to come.[93]

Although the court almoner would have been responsible for the customary donations and expenditures for purposes such as the support of the dozens of young girls living in the Imperial Poor House, it can be expected that if the young archduchess did not venture out and into the confines of that next-door institution, she at least heard reports and discussions concerning it. The posthumous anecdote concerning her activities throwing food and fancy buttons out the windows of the castle to benefit the poor ring a bit truer when one considers that there were two major poor houses located not far from the *Hofburg* while she was living there in the 1560's.

Financial constraints

Because of the financial difficulties and foreign threat, and even because of the expected weight of dowry payments on behalf of their three daughters Anna, Elizabeth, and Margarete, María and Maximilian's finances required a thorough going-over. Court expenditures, be they for tournaments and hunts, clothes for poor girls, travel, or whatever, were

[92] *"leermaidlein Zuchtmaisterin," ibid*., p. 53.
[93] *Ibid*., p. 56.

high, so incomes needed to be adjusted accordingly. The changed religious conditions in the Land Below the Enns and its capital, Vienna, meant, too, that spending priorities needed to be adjusted to reflect the new realities. Did so many resources need to be devoted to convents, monasteries, friaries, canonries, and the like given the decline in the popularity of such institutions and the ideology which supported them? Emperor Maximilian, with his rather ecumenical and non-papal positions on these matters, was not committed to preservation for preservation's sake. He asked the Council on Religious Houses to investigate matters further.

A bit farther afield from the castle where Empress María and Archduchess Elizabeth lived and the poor houses were situated, beyond the cathedral to which the Jesuit students made their weekly processions, was another Vienna institution for women, the Saint Jerome Foundation, a church and safe house set up to provide refuge and reform to wayward women. This foundation was undergoing a transformation similar to that which many ecclesiastical institutions were experiencing in the 1560's. After an imperial decree of general reform was proclaimed on 22 December, 1567 following fact-finding missions which had been sent out into the Danubian hereditary lands, the officials responsible for administering institutions such as Saint Jerome's were instructed to streamline their administrations, keep better records, and get rid of the "shortcomings and crimes" which had been identified.[94]

The attempts by Elizabeth's father's administrators to look into the administration of an urban institution which the city fathers felt was under their legal purview resulted in a lot of correspondence and debate about jurisdictional issues.[95] Wrapped up in this was also a conflict between the Franciscan nuns now at Saint Anne's Church and their secular administrator, a certain Ernst Schaffer. According to the nuns, he had made difficulties which eventually led to the detention of the Franciscans' abbess in Saint Jerome's. The report of the administrator at the latter house, Hans Thien, to the mayor concerning the entire mess stated that the Franciscan nun did not pay for her upkeep and when he pointed that out to her, "she became mad about it and

[94] "*Mangl und geprechen*," Instruction for "Gotzhaus Sainct Iheronime," dated 30 June, 1568. WStLA, Klosterakten 44.

[95] Copies of this correspondence dating 1567–1569 can be found in WStLA, Klosterakten 44.

said, if she cannot spend the money as she wishes, she wants to throw the money out the window.…" "This the woman will not be able to deny," Thien continued.[96]

In an undated memorandum which underlines some of the differences of opinion concerning the cloistered life and the "practical" one which the city administrators were advocating for the women in places such as Saint Jerome's, the mayor and city council state that the "collective of burghers" had donated a house for women "so that they can do penance in it and support themselves," but that the "nuns penitent" had died out and were no longer living in the house, so the mayor and city council had decided "that in the future instead of the deceased penitents a number of young girls [missing in text. Probably: will be supported.]"[97] These girls should be healthy and legitimate and no older than fifteen. They can be supported at Saint Jerome's until they "can earn their own bread."[98] Their schoolmistress was to train them in "reading, writing, knitting, and housekeeping and also to pray," and to

> Also teach them, according to their interests and abilities, all useful and necessary woman's housework and handicrafts such as cooking, knitting, spinning, washing, and everything else which is appropriate for a good household administrator…[99]

The model for behavior being presented by the mayor and city council to the young girls and women at this institution is a far cry from those presented in the stories and images to which Elizabeth had access.

The instructions went on to state that the schoolmistress was to make sure that the girls should be "trained and accustomed to useful

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[96] *"daruber ist sÿ Erzurndt unnd gesagt wan sÿ das gellt Ieren gefallen nach nit soll Außgeben wöll sÿ das gellt Zum Fennster Außwerffen…solches wierdt die Fraw nit vernainen khinnen."* Copy of letter from Thien to Vienna mayor. External note: 5 Jan., 1569. WStLA, Klosterakten 44.

[97] *"Burgerschaft," "das Sy darInnen Pueß thuen. Und Ir Leben daselbst Zuebringen sollen," "Puesserin Nunnen," "das hinfüran von den Einkhumben dises Gozhauß An statt bemelter Abgestorben Püesserin Ain Annzal Jungen Maidl…"* Undated document titled "Instruction aines Newen Schuelwesens zu Sanct Heromine," WStLA, Klosterakten 44.

[98] *"Ir Prodt selbs gewinnen mögen," ibid.*

[99] *"lesens Schribens Narn unnd Haushaltung auch Zum gebet," "ünnd unnderweisen Sÿ auch nach Ainer Jeden Naigung und schigkhlichen Zue Allen Nuzlichen und Nottürfftigen Fraurn Hauß unnd HanndtArbait, Alß Khochen Narn Würcken Spünnen Waschen, unnd allen Anndern. Was Ainer gueten Haußlichen Wierten Zumessen…" ibid.*

service and work," for example by teaching them how to make their own clothes and bed linens.[100] Wards who married were to receive a dowry. A priest or chaplain was to be paid by the administration to hold religious services, but they were not to be permitted to enter the foundation's building except to visit girls who were sick. The contrast was rather striking between the models for female behavior being presented to the archduchess over in the court's part of town and those being suggested here in the contested outer reaches of the burghers' territory. Many years after Elizabeth left home the decision was made to turn over the entire Saint Jerome complex and its assets to the (male) reformed Franciscans who were the favorites (along with the Jesuits) of Empress María.

It was not only the religious houses in the city of Vienna which were subject to closer supervision now that Empress María and Emperor Maximilian and were in power in the late 1560's. There was also increased attention to the often rich and sometimes powerful rural ecclesiastical establishments. The general approach was similar, but the gendered dynamics of rule made the supervision of religious houses headed by women different from the supervision of religious houses headed by men. In the case of the Saint Jerome Foundation in Vienna, it was possible to confine in Saint Jerome's Convent the woman speaking for the Poor Clares in the community now connected to Saint Anne's Church on the order of a man, and to represent the wishes of the "collective of burghers" in Vienna through the words of men. It was a little more complicated in the countryside. There, the roots of authority reached deeper into the past, and claims to power were settled in a sphere beyond a city clerk's office and filing cabinet.

A significant example for Archduchess Elizabeth related to the old Benedictine convent at Erlakloster, up the Danube from Vienna near the Enns River which divided the two parts of the Austrian archduchy. It had been founded by a local noble in the twelfth century, so by this point it had enjoyed over four centuries of independent existence, making it a force to be reckoned with of more standing than the recent urban foundation of Saint Jerome's in Vienna.[101]

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[100] "*…Zur Wierdtschafft unnd Arbait Ziehen unnd gewonen," ibid.*

[101] Ulrich Faust and Waltraud Krassnig, *Die benediktinischen Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster in Österreich und Südtirol* (St. Ottilien, 2000.), pp. 396–402. Archduchess Elizabeth would receive rights over this convent a few years after she returned to Austria following the death of her husband.

At Erlakloster, an earlier inspection visit conducted in 1561 had revealed various problems including the fact that the convent's chaplain was living with a woman. The convent staff had agreed at that time to rectify the problems, although they admitted that they could not change to administering Communion in only one kind.[102] In 1566, the investigatory committee reviewing operations at the various convents, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical instances claimed to be under the supervision of the Habsburg territorial rulers had found evidence of continuing problems with the administration led by the abbess, Margarethe Kholbmanin. The investigators recommended that Abbess Margarethe be removed from the secular responsibilities tied to the administration of the convent, "so that she and her nuns may better concentrate on religious services."[103] This was an option not as easily implemented in a male house. In a male Benedictine abbey, the abbot had almost unfettered authority, so the suggestion that a section of that authority be voluntarily given up would have been seen as an assault on the entire constitution of the order. The suggestion that Abbess Margarethe step back from some aspects of the administration of her convent so that she would be better able to concentrate on another aspect did not have the same consequences. She did not have total authority in the first place.

Some of the other commission recommendations reveal much about what its members saw as problems in this female community. The instructions called for no entertaining at the convent. The abbess should not be allowed to attend baptisms, weddings, and other social occasions. No entertainers were to be permitted. The convent clerk and judge should both be present when official business was conducted. The previous convent judge, Steffan Marchdrenckher, should not be allowed back in the convent, and the entire previous staff should be fired.

Marchdrenckher responded in detail. He had worked at the convent for eighteen years, his parents were convent subjects, and he had complied with the commissioners' request to see his records. He defended himself against the accusation that he had been feeding his two daughters with the convent's grain crop by saying that they were

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[102] Wiedemann, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, vol. 1, p. 173.

[103] *"damit Sÿ Sambt Iren Schwestern.dem Gots diennst Posser Auß warten müge."* Instructions by special commission headed by Dr. Christoph Hillinger. Erlakloster, 8 Jan., 1567. HHStA, Klosterakten 202.

attending school at the cloister. That is why they ate with the other schoolchildren.[104]

Abbess Margarethe decided to take her case directly to the emperor. She reported as much in an undated letter of that summer. The abbess told the Lower Austrian government that with His Majesty she "had found so much generous consideration that His Majesty generously…wanted to help me with the solution of these things."[105] Now, she wrote, she was waiting with relatives (a number of whom Abbess Margarethe pointed out were in imperial service) until she received a final report and would return to the convent after it was received. Apparently she did return to Erlakloster, or at least to the area. The records show a number of bills began to arrive from a furrier and another merchant in the nearby city of Enns in December, 1567. The abbess had been purchasing furs, new hats, and cloth of various kinds.[106]

Abbess Margarethe seems to have at least temporarily decided to turn over a new leaf and comply with the imperial commission's desires to cut back on expenses and entertaining, to turn the convent at Erlakloster into more of a modest, less social establishment. The authorities in Vienna, however, were demanding quite a change: it may not have been a religious transformation such as some of the women's houses in the Empire had complained about at the recent *Reichstag*, but the inspectors wanted the Benedictine abbesses in their sphere of influence to concentrate more on the religious services at their convent and less on their roles as local notables. It is difficult to determine from the evidence if this change was the result of the Council of Trent's decrees about females religious, the pope's increasing interest in regulating the matter (in 1566 Pope Pius had issued the bull "*Circa pastoralis*" limiting female religious life and stressing the importance of enclosure to it), or the emperor's cash shortages and plans for administrative reorganization.

The story of Abbess Margarethe's trials at Erlakloster ends on a rather surprising note. Three years after the agreement following the inspection tour, she submitted a supplication to the emperor and the

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[104] Undated supplication to the Lower Austrian government. *Ibid.*

[105] *"bey der sovill gnädigst Vertrostung befunden, dß It. Mt.…mir her Erledigung, diser sachen gnedigist Verhelffen wolten."* External note: 11 Aug., 1567. *Ibid.*

[106] Undated bill from furrier Georg Sarher of Enns; bill marked paid and dated 29 Dec., 1567 from Bärtlme Weiß of Enns. *Ibid.*

Council on Religious Houses concerning the possibility of renegotiating a substantial debt which her predecessor Abbess Maria von Pirhing had contracted on behalf of the convent.[107] It is not known what was decided concerning this matter, but a report reached the council officials in Fall of 1571 that Abbess Margarethe had fled the convent in the company of a tailor, leaving no administrator responsible for its supervision.[108]

Apparently, this Benedictine abbess had not wanted to conform to the new world of female monasticism being enforced by the Austrian authorities. Within a year, it was decided to pawn Erlakloster as well as another local convent near Horn and two more in the Land Beyond the Enns to the First Estate representatives of the respective provincial assemblies. Money was needed to pay for the coronation of Elizabeth's brother Rudolf as King of Hungary and this seemed a convenient way to raise it.[109] Rural female monasticism in the Austrian archduchy was almost extinguished.

Archduchess Elizabeth was growing up in a world where the entire idea of female monasticism was being debated. Even the Jesuits were skeptical about the concept, preferring not to have women join their order. Her father resignedly entertained plans to convert the empty or almost-empty convents in the Austrian archduchy into schools for burghers' daughters, recognizing that some of the local nobles might object to the loss of control over these important noble foundations. While at the tedious and contentious estates negotiations (again) in Bratislava during Summer, 1569, he suggested that perhaps the Saint Jerome foundation in Vienna be turned into a school for noble girls, a suggestion sure to rile the city's fathers sitting in City Hall.[110]

The general regulations concerning religious houses which had been issued on the emperor's authority in December of 1567 gave further information about the perceived state of affairs concerning the religious education of women in the area and time where and when Archduchess Elizabeth was a teenager. These regulations instructed that

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[107] Supplication dated Erlakloster, 27 March, 1570. *Ibid.*

[108] Undated supplication from Andre Khaltenprunner to emperor. External note: to *Klosterrat* for opinion, 30 Sept., 1571. *Ibid.*

[109] The houses in the Land Beyond the Enns were located in Traunkirchen and Schlierbach. Both would eventually be turned over to male orders. Faust and Krassnig, *Mönchs- und Nonnenklöster*, p. 400.

[110] Emperor Maximilian's suggestions to the *Klosterrat* dated Bratislava, 20 Aug. and 10 Sept., 1569. WStLA, "St. Nikola," Klosterakten 44.

schoolgirls should be taught "various women's handicrafts" and that Latin instruction should be replaced with German lessons "because as weak females they learn slowly and with difficulty and do not understand any way."[111]

The wider world

The international scene, which would ultimately impact heavily on Archduchess Elizabeth, was heating up dramatically, particularly out west where her uncle Philip's decision to respond forcefully to the previous summer's riots and the succeeding political developments was becoming manifest in the form of "boots on the ground." In August, 1567 thousands of veteran Spanish soldiers were arriving in the Low Countries. That month, too, diplomatic activity heated up in Vienna after the court's return from the Bratislava meeting of the Hungarian estates. Ambassadors from Elizabeth's aunt and uncle in Spain, from Dowager Queen Catherine and her son Charles of France, and Queen Elisabeth of England all arrived in the city. The crowns of all three countries could use the emperor's support.

Empress María's court was involved in the shift of attention from the eastern to the western fronts. Spanish noblemen, soldiers, and even Flemish merchants approached her for assistance with their affairs in the Low Countries. She was busy writing letters of recommendation and support for a series of supplicants to the duke of Alba after he arrived in Brussels. The empress was a logical go-between for men wishing to gain the ear of the new leader of Spain's northern holdings. These included Sancho Beltrán and Juan Enrrico, soldiers who had fought in the Hungarian campaign the year before and now wished to serve the king of Spain in Flanders.[112] Men seeking María's aid included courtiers from her household such as Martin Lubembergue or from Maximilian's such as Jorge von Eitzing who wished to do the same.[113] *Don* Bernardino de Ayala, who had served both King

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[111] "*allerlei weiblichen Handarbeiten," "so sie als schwache Weibsbilder langsam und beschwerlich lernen und doch nicht verstehen," Generalordnung* dated 22 Dec., 1566. Quoted in Wiedemann, *Reformation und Gegereformation*, vol. 1, p. 192.

[112] María to Alba, Vienna, 14 Oct., 1567. Galende Díaz and Salamanca López, *Epistolarío*, pp. 161–162. María to Alba, Vienna, 10 March, 1568: p. 165.

[113] María to Alba, Vienna, 12 July, 1568, *ibid*., pp. 166–167; María to Alba, Vienna, 28 Feb., 1568: pp. 163–164.

Philip and Emperor Maximilian, warranted special attention: "This *don* Bernardino is son of Ruy Gomes de Ayala, who died in the service of his Majesty," she wrote.[114] Alonso de Valençia was looking for a position as a gentleman at Alba's court.[115] Others approached the empress for passports or for help in collecting debts owed them. Each supplicant would receive a formal letter produced by María's secretary Hernando de Maçuelo and marked with her imperial seal in red wax.

This was to some extent the daily work of the women's imperial court. The empress reviewed petitions with her officers, had her secretary prepare letters of recommendation, corresponded with other princesses, and wrote long letters to her brother in Spain. She had to keep track of the staff as well as supervise preparations for moving as the court often did, either in the local area to places such as the hunting castle at Ebersdorf or for longer voyages such as the weeks-long stays in Bratislava. There were also letters to read from her sons and their governor in Spain and discussions with her older daughters, who, at nineteen and fourteen in 1568, were probably anxious to be married. The ambassadors at court with their marriage proposals and alliance plans added some excitement to the days' progress.

Little archduchess Margarete, by now weaned and out of swaddling clothes, no doubt provided some entertainment in the women's chambers of the *Hofburg*. These chambers which were by now emptier and perhaps a bit less grim since Queen Katharina, the children's aunt, had moved into her own residence up the river in Linz. There would be occasional visits by the delegation of four young archdukes arriving from their lodgings outside of the castle, perhaps led by their governor, the ex-imperial ambassador Busbecq, and surely led confidently by the maturing Matthias, now eleven, and followed respectfully by Maximilian, Albrecht, and Wenzel.[116] The routine of Mass and reading, handicrafts, and music lessons continued for Archduchess Elizabeth and her older sister. At times they probably discussed the events abroad, where the dowager queen of France Marie Stuart, for example, was having troubles in her realm of Scotland. Naval battles were

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[114] *"Este don Bernardino es hijo de Ruy Gomes de Ayala, que murió en servicio de su Magestad,"* María to Alba, Vienna, 9 Oct., 1568, *ibid*., pp. 167–168. Here, p. 168.

[115] María to Alba, Bratislava, 6 Sept., 1569, *ibid*., pp. 172–173.

[116] The instructions for the archdukes' court are dated 20 Dec., 1566. Martels, *Busbequius*, col. 547. Busbecq would remain in charge of the archdukes' upbringing until his departure for Spain with the archduchess Anna in 1570.

reported between French, Spanish, and English ships in the unimaginably broad seas to the west with their mysterious lands beyond from which news of strange empires and exotic plants and animals also was arriving. The dashing French prince they had met during the Ottoman campaign, Henri, duc d'Anjou was now the teenage commander of the royalist troops in France and reports of battles there arrived by courier from time to time.

Family news which would have excited the court was word of the birth of new cousins, events which occurred relatively frequently. In November of 1567, for example, family celebrations had taken place after word of the birth of a new Spanish *infanta*, Catalina Michaela. Sometime early the next year, the familiar announcement of a new pregnancy for the empress would have been made, and the usual discussions about names and godparents would have been added to conversations which included so much speculation about weddings, and particularly about the health and demeanor of the Spanish heir Carlos. The presence of two royal heiresses now in Spain reduced the need to have the archdukes Rudolf and Ernst there in case of Carlos' demise. Discussions could begin about the two's return to central Europe.

February, 1568 was a memorable month. Peace was signed in Edirne with the Ottomans, relieving everyone who had feared a continuation of the war in Hungary. Imperial counselors advocated a policy of peace in the Empire so that attention (and money) could be paid to the Hungarian border defenses.[117] After seven months at the court and endless discussions, the earl of Sussex, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador, left for home. He had arrived the previous Summer to convey the Order of the Garter on the emperor and to talk about the potential marriage between Archduke Karl and the English queen.[118] Khevenhüller reported that the ambassador had been "richly entertained and supported at no cost," with entertainments including an elaborate shooting contest which had been held after Three Kings Day, not long after the emperor's official investment in the English royal order.[119] Now he left, and it appeared that the wished-for match

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[117] Lanzinner, "Geheime Räte," reports that Trautson, for example, advocated this position. General Schwendi similarly wanted a more active policy in regard to the Holy Roman Empire (pp. 306–308).

[118] Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, pp. 90–93.

[119] *"stattlich tractiert und kostfrei gehalten,"* Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 33. Ashmole, *Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies*, p. 404. A 12-leaf account of the shooting contest

was not to take place. Negotiations would continue for a couple more years, but then the archduke would marry his niece, Elizabeth's Aunt Anna's musically-inclined Bavarian daughter Maria, in 1571. Three of Maria and Karl's daughters would go on to become queens. A son would become emperor.

February, 1568 also saw the elaborate wedding of Elizabeth's cousin Duke Wilhelm of Bavaria with the duchesse of Lorraine, Renate. Reports of this weeks-long series of ducal celebrations made them out to be one of the most elaborate celebrations of its day. Di Lasso composed the music and the obligatory tournaments, festivals, and dances transformed Munich. The famous female composer Madelena Casulana also participated. Elizabeth's uncle Ferdinand represented the family. He attended with an elaborate retinue of almost 500 riders.[120] Word and published accounts of the celebrations must have excited the imaginations of the two eligible archduchesses in the Vienna castle.[121] What would their weddings be like? (And to whom were they to be married?) Uncle Karl had not yet found a wife, but cousin Wilhelm had. Elizabeth could picture the young duke as well as Duchess Renate: she had sat with the women of the court in Frankfurt's imposing Saint Bartholomew's Church for the coronation of Elizabeth's father as King of the Romans six years before.

The biggest wedding-related news that reached Elizabeth and her family that month arrived around the time of the Munich nuptial festivities. A courier arrived in Vienna with a message for the emperor from his brother-in-law King Philip in Spain informing Maximilian of the unfortunate fact that the king had thrown his son Carlos in

written by Heinrich Wirrich was published in Vienna by Hans Widtman that year. See Watanabe-O'Kelly and Simon, *Festivals and Ceremonies*, p. 6, Nr. 33.

[120] Johann Wagner, *Kurtze doch gegründte beschreibung des Durchleuchtigen Hochbebornnen Fürsten vnnd Herren/ Herren Wilhalmen/ Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein. Vnd derselben geliebsten Gemahel. Frewlein Renata gebornne Hertzogin zu Lottringen und Parr/ c.…* (Munich, 1568), p. 8.

[121] In their bibliography of festival books, Watanabe-O'Kelly and Simon list four published accounts of this famous "Munich Wedding," a celebration that sealed the Munich court's reputation as one of the grandest in the Empire. Three of the accounts were published in Munich, one in Augsburg, and one in Venice. *Festivals and Ceremonies*, pp. 29–30, Nr. 152–155. Seipel, *Wir sind Helden*, p. 89. Thomasin LaMay, "Composing from the Throat: Madelena Casulana's *Primo libro de madrigali* (1568)," pp. 365–397 in LaMay, ed., *Musical Voices of Early Modern Women* (Burlington, VT, 2005).

prison.[122] The Spanish heir had been acting erratically. Already back in November of the previous year, Philip had warned his sister and brother-in-law of the unfortunate behavior of the prince, who was subject to fits and self-destructive acts.[123]

The Venetian ambassador Micheli's reports from Vienna for the next few months make repeated references to the state of Carlos and discussions at the court.[124] Not only did the uncertainty about Philip's son cause problems for Archduchess Anna, whom it had been supposed Carlos would marry, it also meant that the Spanish king was loath to part with his two nephews, Rudolf and Ernst, who had been originally scheduled to come back to central Europe by now. It was thought that they may be needed to help rule in Carlos' place, especially now that Philip's consort Queen Elisabeth had delivered another girl. King Philip, thinking ahead, had already broached the topic of a marriage between Rudolf and one of his daughters back in 1566. Now this seemed more likely as a way to cement ties between the two branches of the family.[125]

Imperial Ambassador Dietrichstein had reported as recently as August of the previous year that King Philip was maintaining his strong opposition to a French match: "I cannot understand why the French marriage is so opposed by them," he wrote.[126] The Spanish ambassador to Vienna had even been given instructions back in 1565 to work to hinder a match between one of María's daughters and King Charles. Chantonnay's instructions were to work instead for something like an Archduke Karl match with the widowed dowager queen of France and reigning queen of Scotland Marie Stuart.[127] But now things were changing. Peace with the Ottomans and the civil war in

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[122] Khevenhüller reported that he heard the news from court on 23 February. *Tagebuch*, p. 36.

[123] Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire*, p. 148.

[124] See his reports dated 26 Feb., 18 March, 23 March, and 28 June, 1568: Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, pp. 427, 431, 435, 440.

[125] Dietrichstein to Maximilian, Madrid, 11 Feb., 1566. Koch, *Quellen*, p. 154. In this report Dietrichstein also notes that Philip is still skeptical about French intentions. The conflict over Florida notwithstanding, the Spanish king noted that they did not seem to be pressing their case very hard. They had not offered to give up their traditional alliance with the Ottomans, return the parts of the Empire they had taken, or even make clear their plans and intentions concerning Genoa.

[126] *"Ich kann nit gedenkhen, warumben inen die franzesisch heirath so hoch zuwider,"* Dietrichstein to Maximilian, Madrid, 13 Aug., 1567. Koch, *Quellen*, p. 194.

[127] Edelmayer, *Korrespndenz*, pp. 128–129.

the Low Countries played a role in this change, but so did the problems with Carlos. Perhaps Elizabeth's uncle Karl could marry her aunt Juana, Philip's sister? Or perhaps Anna could marry the Portuguese king, not Elizabeth?

As the year went on, the situation changed dramatically. A peace treaty signed at Longjumeau in France between the crown and the Protestants meant that that kingdom looked a bit more appealing for one of the emperor's daughters. (What parents would want to send their child into a war zone?) The Spanish ambassador Chantonnay suspected, according to his colleague in the diplomatic corps in Vienna the Venetian Micheli, that the French were floating the idea of a match between King Charles and someone else as another ploy to get the Habsburg side to move on the issue.[128] Maximilian feared a French alliance with Saxony and another possible French candidacy for the imperial throne. This had happened earlier in the century when María's father Charles had won the election against the French candidate King Francis I. In 1568 the French regent Dowager Queen Catherine also was looking to help stem the influx of German mercenary cavalry units from the Empire which were effective in the fighting against the crown.

Although the recent peace in France was holding, things were getting worse next door in the Low Countries. Elizabeth's aunt Margarete had left for safer haven in Italy after the duke of Alba and his troops had arrived to stabilize things. A number of leading nobles who had opposed or partially opposed royal policies had been arrested. One of them was the Knight of the Golden Fleece Philip de Montmorency, Count Hornes, a one-time associate of Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Charles. She had seen him when he had attended the Knights' banquet to celebrate the order's patron saint's day, the Festival of Saint Andrew, in Frankfurt six years before.

In Spring, 1568 Count Hornes' wife Anne Walburge de Neuenahr, Countess Mörs, was at the imperial court pleading for the emperor to intercede with King Philip on her husband's behalf.[129] The countess

[128] Micheli to Doge, Vienna, 8 April, 1568. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 415, note 3.

[129] Sutter Fichtner, *Maximilian II*, p. 166. It is not clear how positive a reception the countess would have received from the emperor. Hornes' holdings in the Empire, an Imperial County, were listed among the "questionable" members of the imperial estates. (He theoretically owed three horse and 22 foot, a sizable assessment, to the imperial war effort.) Heil and Lanzinner, *Reichstag Augsburg 1566*, vol. 1, p. 949. His

came from a set of territories in the holdings of Archduchess Elizabeth's aunt Maria and uncle Wilhelm, Duchess and Duke of Jülich-Cleves and could appeal to Emperor Maximilian as her family's lord.[130] It was to no avail: Hornes was executed in the public square in Brussels on 5 June. The lines were becoming more and more clearly drawn between the camps in Elizabeth's uncle's contentious lands. Another Knight of the Golden Fleece who had also been at the banquet in Frankfurt in 1562, Prince William of Orange, had fled the Low Countries and was now raising troops in the Empire's southwest with the idea of returning to the fray.

For the older archduchesses in Vienna, the news from the west had been confusing. Queen Marie of Scotland, for example, had reportedly fled her subjects to find refuge with their uncle Karl's prospective bride Queen Elizabeth of England and the Scottish queen's infant son had been declared king. Was this any way to treat a queen? The fighting in France and the Low Countries was equally confusing. Why could the kings of those territories, Charles and their uncle Philip, not simply order their marshals to reestablish order as their father had done when Duke Johann Friedrich and the rebel Grumbach had gotten out of hand? The duke had been brought to court and was now imprisoned in their childhood home. Was the Empire as a whole so much more secure and orderly than its western neighbors or its Burgundian Circle?

Matters took a bizarre twist for the archduchesses and their marriage hopes later that Summer. News arrived at court that their cousin Carlos had died.[131] Now what? Of course the idea that the match with

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representatives had argued in a written statement submitted to the Imperial Assembly the previous year that most of his holdings were now under Spanish sovereignty and requested that the imperial financial proceedings underway concerning unpaid taxes therefore be either stopped, or at least the tax assessment reduced. Supplication read at the Imperial Council, 23 May, 1566. *Ibid.*, p. 1402. The consequences of accepting royal sovereignty were fatal for this knight.

[130] The countess, like her husband, did not stand on very solid ground in relation to the emperor. The county of Mörs was assessed at the rate of three horse and 12 foot (and on the regular tax rolls, not the special "questionable" members list), but a note on the assessment stated that Herman, the count of Neuenahr and Mörs, "*sagt, hab nichts im Reich und derwegen zu contribuirn nicht schuldig.*" Reichsanschlag presented to the emperor by 8 April, 1566. *Ibid.*, p. 944. Members of the Empire who wanted the protections and assistance its institutions provided but who did not want to pay taxes to it violated the principle of reciprocity so important for the imperial constitution.

[131] As reported by the Venetian ambassador: Micheli to Doge, Vienna, 16 Sept., 1568. Turba, *Venetianische Depeschen*, vol. 3, p. 452.

Carlos was less than ideal had been in their minds for some time (most likely more in Anna's than in Elizabeth's). He was misshapen and mean, hardly the man of a young woman's dreams. Did this mean that now Anna's future was with Charles and Sebastian of Portugal was the man for Elizabeth?

Unfortunately, France did not seem at the time all that attractive, either. The young king was moving to outlaw Protestantism, something unheard of in the Empire. Protestant leaders were streaming westward where they were going to try and hold out by controlling ports and maintaining ties to Protestants abroad (particularly in the Low Countries but also in the British Isles and Scandinavia) by sea. Perhaps Portugal was the way to go for a archduchess. It was ruled by a cousin at least, and there was no civil war there.

Discussions were lively and ongoing at the Vienna court about what to do next. Plans were made to send Archduke Karl to the head of the *Casa d'Austria*, Philip, to discuss the marriages of the archduchesses, the return of the archdukes, and how best to bring about peace in the Low Countries. Khevenhüller accompanied him. After an audience with the empress and emperor while they were on a hunting trip in Ebersdorf in early August, the party set out for Spain, arriving in Madrid on 10 December. On the way, they stopped for a while to visit Archduke Karl's sister Duchess Barbara of Ferrara.[132] Archdukes Rudolf and Ernst met their uncle Karl upon his arrival in the Spanish capital.

The electors of the Empire continued to be concerned about the security of its western borders. Most had disliked the special status the Burgundian Circle had been accorded two decades before and pointed to the recent developments there as evidence of the correctness of their position. They turned as a group to Emperor Maximilian. In a letter dated 22 September, 1568 they asked that he take the circle back under imperial protection, perhaps hoping to somehow be able to therefore extend some of the benefits of the 1555 religious peace to the inhabitants there.[133] Maximilian could assure the electors that he had sent his brother to Spain to discuss these matters with his brother-in-law.

There was probably a split at court about the best policy to pursue in the Low Countries. Empress María was at the time authorizing letters of recommendation for men who wanted to travel to Brussels to sup-

[132] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, pp. 39–43.
[133] Weis, "La peur," p. 27.

port her brother there. Her position was buttressed by the arrival late the next month of the familiar papal envoy, Cardinal Commendone, at the imperial court. Maximilian had tried to delay this, fearing that it would affect his image of (relative) neutrality, but the visit took place nonetheless.

In the midst of all these discussions and negotiations, Archduchess Elizabeth's last sibling was born on the evening of Wednesday, 4 November, 1568. The baby girl was christened Eleonore, a popular name in the family. She had an aunt, the duchess of Mantua, named Eleonore, and her great aunt the twice-queen Eleonore had been the older sister of baby Eleonore's two grandfathers, Emperors Charles and Ferdinand.[134] Queen Eleonore had been King Francis I of France's second wife and had outlived the famous ruler, moving from France to the Low Countries as dowager queen of that kingdom. (She was also a dowager queen of Portugal.) Eleonore had been present when the aging emperor turned over his Burgundian lands to baby Eleonore's uncle Philip thirteen years before. Were Empress María and Emperor Maximilian thinking of the French marriage project when they decided on this name for their fourth daughter? Queen Eleonore had died in Spain in 1558, when Archduchess Elizabeth was four. Empress Eleonora was buried in Wiener Neustadt, so it is also possible that the new baby's name recalled that imperial predecessor.

Baby Eleonore's godparents were the Imperial Lord High Steward Johann Trautson and his wife Brigida Madruzzo. Both were from important Tyrolean noble dynasties. A number of Madruzzos, for example, were prince-bishops of Trent, including Brigida's brother the ruling cardinal prince-bishop Cristoforo who had accompanied Elizabeth's father on his wedding trip to Spain back in 1548.[135] Cristoforo had officiated at the marriage of Maximilian and María in Valladolid.[136] Brigida's nephew was Cristoforo's designated successor to the prince-bishopric, Ludovico. His father (Brigida's older brother) Nicolò Madruzzo had been an important military leader for Elizabeth's grandfather Emperor Charles and was more recently in imperial diplomatic service in Italy.[137] Nicolò's wife (and Brigida's sister-in-law)

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[134] Hamann, *Habsburger*, pp. 76–77.

[135] For more on the Madruzzos, see Chisholm, "Tirolean Aristocracy," p. 16. On the Trautsons, pp. 17–18.

[136] Pfandl, *Philipp II.*, p. 188.

[137] Chisholm, "Tirolean Aristocracy," p. 16.

Helene was of the important Carniolan noble dynasty of the Lambergs, again illustrating how court service and marriages between courtiers brought together women and men from across the Habsburgs' lands, from southern Tyrol (in what is today Italy) to Carniola (in what is today Slovenia).

The cleric officiating at Archduchess Eleonore's baptism was the short-term "Court and Feastday Preacher," Martin Eisengrein. Father Martin had come from Stuttgart to study at the Vienna university in 1553, converted to Catholicism, entered the priesthood, and served as the cathedral preacher in the city before moving on to the Jesuits' university in Ingolstadt, Bavaria where he worked under the patronage of Archduchess Elizabeth's uncle Duke Albrecht. He was back in Vienna for a couple of years in the late 1560's as a close associate of Georg Eder, the Catholic educator and administrator who was helping to keep the old church institutions running in the city during this difficult period in their history.[138] Eisengrein persuaded Emperor Maximilian to order all members of the university to participate in the controversial public *Corpus Christi* procession which Protestants had been boycotting.

For a while in 1568 there were two and then three court preachers in Vienna. Eisengrein and Michael Eck shared the episcopal palace near Saint Stephen's Cathedral while Emperor Maximilian and his staff were looking around for a qualified and willing candidate to replace Bishop Urban as the head administrator of the diocese.[139] Ideally, the new candidate would be an ordained cleric who would also agree to become the bishop. An ambitious theology professor in his early twenties from the Habsburgs' university in Freiburg im Breisgau, Dr. Johann Caspar Neubeck, was called to the capital in the same year, 1568, for a trial run as Court Preacher. He was ordained by 1569 and a few years later would be persuaded to fill the long-standing vacancy on the Viennese bishops' throne, serving there for twenty years and working closely with Elizabeth during her widowhood.[140]

The last twist in the story of the marriage negotiations surrounding Archduchess Elizabeth and her sister Anna occurred in November, 1568 when news arrived in Vienna of the death of Queen Elisabeth of

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[138] Fulton, *Catholic Belief*, pp. 70 and 108, note 32.
[139] Wolfsgruber, *Hofburgkapelle*, pp. 95, 605.
[140] Geyer, *Dr. Joh. Caspar Neubeck*.

Spain. The twenty-three year old queen had died during a miscarriage, delivering a dead five-month-old fetus.[141] The papal nuncio wrote the same day as the queen's death on 3 October to Rome reporting that the word at the court was now that Philip would marry his niece Anna.[142] Even though a French delegation headed by Cardinal Guise arrived in Spain in late January to convey French condolences on the death of the French king's sister Queen Elisabeth and to offer her younger sister Marguerite as the new bride for the aging King Philip, Anna was the leading and successful candidate for the position.[143]

With the Iberian connection secure and Empress María placated via the Anna-Philip match, Elizabeth's father could turn back to longstanding plans to try and bring order and stability to the western reaches of the Empire through an alliance between the Habsburgs and the Valois. He could not affect the developments in his brother-in-law's lands very much, but Maximilian could try to moderate the French king's radical policies at home and interventionist meddling in the Empire through a match with his second daughter, Elizabeth. With the Spanish king putting up no major obstacles to the plan, the betrothals were negotiated over the next few weeks by the two uncles, Philip and Karl. Elizabeth was going to be Queen of France. Her apprenticeship was soon to end.

[141] Henry Kamen, *Phillip II of Spain* (New Haven, CT, 1997), p. 122.
[142] Lanzinner, *Friedenssicherung*, p. 219.
[143] Khevenhüller, *Tagebuch*, p. 44.

CONCLUSIONS

GROWING UP: A QUEEN BEFORE THE FACT

This study has sought to highlight a number of themes associated with the histories of central Europe in the 1550's and 1560's through a detailed examination of the experiences of the Habsburg archduchess Elizabeth at the court of her mother María. The ways by which the women's court in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt functioned as a site of amalgamation for the Habsburgs in central Europe and the ways by which the women's familiar and political connections helped shape the dynasty's relations with the wider Holy Roman Empire as well as the rest of Europe have also been discussed. In addition, this book sought to highlight a number of themes associated with the experiences of a young noblewoman destined to become a queen, touching along the way issues relating to the education of her siblings. Two of these would go on to become Holy Roman Emperors, one became Queen of Spain, and two others ruled the Habsburgs' holdings in the Low Countries. One of these two had served as viceroy of Portugal. The history described in this book can be considered both as transnational and international.

Chapter One sketched María and Elizabeth's family backgrounds. It outlined their lineages and the positions of their grandparents and parents, situating the baby born in the summer of 1554 into the dynastic lines which would in many ways direct her future. Independent of any actions of her own, her place as the second daughter of the designated heirs to the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones, her mother María and her father Maximilian, gave Elizabeth particular significance on the European scene. The shifting and uncertain nature of Habsburg rule and claims to rule over the contested Kingdom of Hungary were of particular importance. These were reflected in the roles Hungarian prelates and a limited number of other Hungarian nobles played at court.

For the young archduchess growing up in the confines of her mother's Spanish-influenced court, the world outside most likely intruded at first only in the form of sounds and people, particularly the noblewomen drawn to royal service. Some analysis was dedicated to the question of who these noblewomen were, to the important ceremonies

and occasions associated with female royal service, and to the marriage discussions which formed such a large part of this court's political life. Archduchess Elizabeth grew up in a world in which the question of marriage was often in the air. Whether this question concerned her mother's courtiers, her aunts and uncles, her sister, or herself, it was a question oft proposed. The rhythm of life at the women's court was to a large extent determined by the reproductive rhythms of María's body. Pregnancies and births structured time, sometimes adjusted by the deaths of children or other relatives and the elaborate ceremonies of mourning which accompanied those somber occasions.

The physical environments of the castles in Vienna and then Wiener Neustadt and the urban contexts of these two cities in which the members of the women's court spent these years were also discussed. This discussion included the material world of dress and adornment that occupied much time and attention at the court. Which style or materials were chosen conveyed significant messages to the participants in the court's life. The "Spanish Style" meant a lot to the women at the court.

The physical world within the castles' confines and in the limited spaces to which the women at court would have had access was also portrayed. The statues and chapels, stained glass windows, altarpieces, and burial monuments which formed the backdrop to court life were more than stage sets: they were important pedagogical instruments that influenced how courtiers would see the world and how they would be seen within it. Historical claims, so important for the Habsburgs' self-image, were made via the hewn stone of imperial funerary monuments in Wiener Neustadt. There female rule was depicted through the elaborate gravestone of the empress Eleonora. The Habsburgs' longstanding position as rulers of the area was also given a genealogy in the façade of Saint George Chapel.

Religious claims were made in stone, glass, and carved and painted wood. Virgin martyr saints who stood their ground in the face of overwhelming odds as well as elaborate depictions of the life of Saint Mary and her asserted position as queen of heaven and leader of the angels were everywhere to be seen in the visual world that helped structure Archduchess Elizabeth's imagination. Specific angels such as Michael appeared depicted before her eyes. If role models were sought or received, they were of a particular set of types. Archduchess Elizabeth knew of many powerful and respected girls and women. She also knew of androgynous and sometime militant angels.

The gardens and game parks of Archduchess Elizabeth's childhood and youth were the contexts of her understanding of nature. This was not a Romantic world of delight in debris or disorder; it was a world struggling to assert its control over animals and plants that more often than not held the upper hand. Dogs were trained, deer were shot, and elephants and camels paraded as part of a pageantry of power. Archduchess Elizabeth grew up in a world where symbolism conveyed hope as well as reality. The questions presented in the narrative included whether or not she as a young girl could differentiate between the two.

Historians and others have pointed to the roles of processions and tournaments in the lives of the women and men associated with the noble courts of this period. Chapter One concluded with an account of the famous Vienna Festival of 1560. Most often when these festivals have been discussed, they have been discussed from the perspective of modern art historians. This chapter attempts to provide a set of alternative readings as seen from the imagined perspective of a six-year-old.

Chapter Two continued the marriage theme. It is a commonplace that the Habsburgs used marriage as a means to power. Chapter Two interrogated the consequences of this policy for the women of the dynasty. These women benefited from and were the results of a strategy which now seems more coherent than it may have seemed to those involved. The strategy also carried burdens and had consequences that worked themselves out in a myriad of ways in the lives and psyches of Habsburg *infantas* and archduchesses. Archduchess Elizabeth stands for many in this regard.

As the archduchess matured, her education began. In Chapter Two the contours of this education were discussed. Archduchess Elizabeth's education was the result of conflicts originating in Iberia as well closer to home. Her grandfather Ferdinand and her mother María shared common roots in far-off Spain, but this does not mean that the educations they received or the religious contexts from which they came were the same. Spanish history in the period is dynamic and contested. The Spain of Ferdinand's youth and that of María's a generation later were different. In addition, Ferdinand had lived for decades in new surroundings: he had made a series of irrevocable decisions concerning religious priorities as a result of his lived experience in central Europe.

For the first decade of Elizabeth's life, the exact parameters of religious propriety were not clearly established. Her father used this ambiguity expertly. The results for the archduchess include a degree of uncertainty

as to how to respond to the plagues and Ottoman incursions which were important elements of her experiences. Even the religious literature by Luis de Granada popular in some circles in Spain and influential at the court was suspect. It is not possible to pin a label on her early upbringing. It seems clear, at least, that her education had botanical as well as handicraft components. Elizabeth's education was also very musical: her thoughts and training were influenced by an attempt to bring the worlds of speech and sound together. Music lessons were not just music lessons at the court of María and Maximilian: they were instructions in cosmic unity in the face of apparent disunity.

Another essential part of Archduchess Elizabeth's education was the extended trip she and the rest of the Habsburgs' central European courts took in 1562 and 1563. This trip introduced her to the Bohemian, Imperial, and Hungarian contexts of Habsburg rule. It also introduced her to the ceremonies and status associated with sacred queenship. María was transformed ceremonially into an anointed ruler before Elizabeth's eyes. The entire process of movement, ceremony, celebration, and memory outlined in Chapter Two points to the future which would await the archduchess. As anointed Queen of France, Elizabeth would ascend to the status of her mother. For around a quarter of her life, Elizabeth would be the only consecrated female ruler in the Holy Roman Empire.

Chapter Three began with the transition from the rule of Emperor Ferdinand, Elizabeth's grandfather, to the rule of her father, Emperor Maximilian II, in 1564. An important change took place with the accession to the throne of an empress. This throne had been vacant since 1539. 1564 marked a new stage of imperial history. Although further research on this topic needs to be undertaken, it appears that the position of empress acquired new significance beginning in this period. Seventeenth-century empresses stood to benefit from this development.

The major event analyzed and discussed in Chapter Three was the Imperial Assembly at Augsburg in 1566. Twelve years old, Archduchess Elizabeth returned to the Free Imperial City and experienced the socio-political worlds of the Holy Roman Empire. This empire was not some dry abstraction to the women of the imperial court: it was a series of women, men, and men representing women who took turns appearing on its stage, often in choreographed ceremonies. The court remained in Augsburg for months. This gave the women and men who

constituted it the chance to talk. From this vantage point, the Empire becomes a topic constituted by words as well as actions.

Chapter Four dealt with a crucial and scary phase of Archduchess Elizabeth's life: the Hungarian war of 1565–1566. A huge imperial army was mobilized and mustered around Vienna, bringing into the real world the imagined world of child-impaling, cannibalistic "Turks" and their allies. The various images which had been presented to the younger Elizabeth were now invested with different meanings: castles, cannons, and gunpowder displays were no longer safe or celebratory. Although disputes between tournament protagonists had been presented to her in the past, now the judge could not be influenced (directly) by the intervention of the women of the court asking for mercy. The ultimate arbiter and intercessor had to be accessed in such a situation. Archduchess Elizabeth undertook a pilgrimage to Mariazell.

Life at the women's court in this period was not only influenced by foreign affairs. Domestic issues supplemented the reports from the Hungarian front. Elizabeth's renounced aunt Katherina had returned from Poland and provided an antidote to overly-optimistic dreams of marriage to a Portuguese, Spanish, or French prince. A series of plays presented in Vienna provided food for thought, as did the altarpiece at Nine Choirs of Angels Church where the increasingly-popular Jesuits were gaining at least some followers. A young student at the Vienna Jesuits' school was even said to have received the Eucharist from angels and Saint Barbara. It was in this context that the archduchess reportedly exercised her later legendary generosity toward the poor. As the world turned about her, Elizabeth continued her education and prepared for her royal future.

The diplomatic scene shifted and the possibility of a French royal marriage became real as 1568 turned to 1569. Partly to advance her father's wishes for a religiously settled and tolerant west, Archduchess Elizabeth would become Queen of France. Her experiences, training, and dynastic position which have been outlined in the preceding pages with particular reference to her mother Empress María would help determine how Elizabeth would exercise the important office of queen during her brief reign in that bloody time marked forever by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre. The themes examined in this book also help to explain Elizabeth's actions in the long years of widowhood which awaited her in Prague and Vienna.

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* Because of the exceedingly large number of references, the following terms have not been included in this index: "Elizabeth (Habsburg, archduchess)", "Ferdinand I (Habsburg, emperor)," "Maximilian II (Habsburg, emperor)," "María (Habsburg, empress)," and "Vienna."

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